

ALISON CORNISH

# Vernacular Translation in Dante's Italy

*Illiterate Literature*



CAMBRIDGE

VISIT...

LANZAROTE  
*Caliente*.COM

## VERNACULAR TRANSLATION IN DANTE'S ITALY

Translation and commentary are often associated with institutions and patronage, but in Italy around the time of Dante, widespread vernacular translation was mostly on the spontaneous initiative of individuals. While Dante is usually the starting point for histories of vernacular translation in Europe, this book demonstrates that *The Divine Comedy* places itself in opposition to a vast vernacular literature already in circulation among its readers. Alison Cornish explores the anxiety of vernacularization as expressed by translators and contemporary authors, the prevalence of translation in religious experience, the role of scribal mediation, the influence of the Italian reception of French literature on that literature, and how translating into the vernacular became a project of nation-building only after its virtual demise during the humanist period. Vernacular translation was a phenomenon with which all authors in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Europe – from Brunetto Latini to Giovanni Boccaccio – had to contend.

ALISON CORNISH is Associate Professor of Italian Literature at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

# CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

## GENERAL EDITOR

Alastair Minnis, *Yale University*

## EDITORIAL BOARD

Zygmunt G. Barański, *University of Cambridge*  
Christopher C. Baswell, *University of California, Los Angeles*  
John Burrow, *University of Bristol*  
Mary Carruthers, *New York University*  
Rita Copeland, *University of Pennsylvania*  
Simon Gaunt, *King's College, London*  
Steven Kruger, *City University of New York*  
Nigel Palmer, *University of Oxford*  
Winthrop Wetherbee, *Cornell University*  
Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Fordham University*

This series of critical books seeks to cover the whole area of literature written in the major medieval languages – the main European vernaculars, and medieval Latin and Greek – during the period c.1100–1500. Its chief aim is to publish and stimulate fresh scholarship and criticism on medieval literature, special emphasis being placed on understanding major works of poetry, prose, and drama in relation to the contemporary culture and learning which fostered them.

## RECENT TITLES IN THE SERIES

D. H. Green  
*Women and Marriage in German Medieval Romance*  
Peter Godman  
*Paradoxes of Conscience in the High Middle Ages: Abelard, Heloise and the Archpoet*  
Edwin D. Craun  
*Ethics and Power in Medieval English Reformist Writing*  
David Matthews  
*Writing to the King: Nation, Kingship, and Literature in England, 1250–1350*  
Mary Carruthers (ed.)  
*Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*  
Katharine Breen  
*Imagining an English Reading Public, 1150–1400*  
Antony J. Hasler  
*Court Poetry in Late Medieval England and Scotland: Allegories of Authority*  
Shannon Gayk  
*Image, Text, and Religious Reform in Fifteenth-Century England*  
Lisa H. Cooper  
*Artisans and Narrative Craft in Late-Medieval England*  
Alison Cornish  
*Vernacular Translation in Dante's Italy: Illiterate Literature*

*A complete list of titles in the series can be found at the end of the volume.*

# VERNACULAR TRANSLATION IN DANTE'S ITALY

*Illiterate Literature*

ALISON CORNISH



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,  
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org  
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107001138

© Alison Cornish 2011

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without  
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2011

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Cornish, Alison, 1963–

Vernacular translation in Dante's Italy : illiterate literature / Alison Cornish.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in medieval literature ; 83)

ISBN 978-1-107-00113-8 (Hardback)

1. Translating and interpreting–Italy–History–To 1500. 2. Language and culture–Europe.  
3. Italian literature–History and criticism. 4. Humanism in literature. 5. Italy–Intellectual  
life–1268–1559. I. Title. II. Series.

P306.8.I8C67 2010

418'.020945–dc22

2010022876

ISBN 978-1-107-00113-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or  
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to  
in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such  
websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## *Contents*

|                                                                            |                |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Acknowledgements</i>                                                    | <i>page vi</i> |
| Introduction                                                               | i              |
| 1 Dressing down the muses: the anxiety<br>of <i>volgarizzamento</i>        | 16             |
| 2 The authorship of readers                                                | 44             |
| 3 Cultural ricochet: French to Italian and back again                      | 70             |
| 4 Translation as miracle: illiterate learning and<br>religious translation | 101            |
| 5 The treasure of the translator: Dante and Brunetto                       | 126            |
| 6 A new life of translation: <i>volgarizzamento</i><br>after humanism      | 158            |
| <i>Notes</i>                                                               | 180            |
| <i>Bibliography</i>                                                        | 233            |
| <i>Index</i>                                                               | 263            |

## Acknowledgements

This book was written in pockets of time over eight years in Ann Arbor between diapers and soccer games, operas and Dante lectures, in Hatcher, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Riccardiana, and Vatican libraries, in Trastevere and in Ponte a Mensola and on the train in between, overlooking Lake Michigan and the Valley of the Tiber, and in a few magical days between one and the other peak of the Dolomites. Thanks go to Albert Ascoli, Zygmunt Barański, Catherine Brown, Theodore J. Cachey, Jr, Topher Davis, Alison Frazier, John Freccero, Simon Gaunt, Enrique Garcia Santo-Tomás, Patrick Geary, George Hoffman, Megan Holmes, Ronald Martinez and Peggy McCracken who generously read and commented upon chapters in inchoate stages, as well as to the two anonymous readers of Cambridge University Press and my copy-editor, Jacqueline French. Authorship of all errors remains of course wholly mine. For stimulation at crucial junctures, I am grateful to Teodolinda Barolini for her shining Dante2000 conference at Columbia, Steven Botterill for including me among *cose nove* in his 2007 conference in Berkeley, and Anna Maria Busse Berger for an unforgettable conference on memory in 2005, as well as to all my fellow fellows and the truly remarkable staff at Villa I Tatti. For gracious invitations to share my work with various vibrant groups, thanks to Martin Eisner at Duke, Douglas Biow at Texas, and to Tom Green and Tom Willette here at the University of Michigan. I also thank *Mediaevalia*, *Romanic Review* and Olschki for placing some of this material in earlier incarnations and for permission to republish it here. Thanks most of all to Paolo Squatriti who gives me a home and dinner and partnership in all things and – for their patience, affection and independence – to Sofia, Giacomo and Cristina, to the last of whom I dedicate this book, her *coetaneo*.

I feel very much like a *volgarizzatrice*, making this book out of other books, hoping for its utility, but apologizing for my *poca scienza* and submitting it humbly to the learned.

Chapter 1 was published in reduced form in ‘When Illiterates Read: The Anxiety of *Volgarizzamento*’, *Mediaevalia* 26.2 (2005): 59–98.



Material from Chapters 2 and 3 appeared in *Romanic Review* 97 (2006): 309–30. Other portions of Chapter 2 appeared in a chapter entitled, ‘*Volgarizzamenti*: To Remember and to Forget’, in Anna Maria Busse Berger and Massimiliano Rossi (eds.), *Memory and Invention* (Florence: Olschki, 2009), 1–14.

All citations from Dante’s *Commedia* are from the Petrocchi edition (1966–8) unless otherwise indicated. Translations of texts are mine where no translation is specified.

Thanks to the Augustinian Fathers of the Sanctuary of San Nicola in Tolentino for permission to publish the cover image.



## *Introduction*

This book explores the particular nature of vernacular translation, or *volgarizzamento*, in Italy in the time of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. While Italian literature, whose origins are squarely in the thirteenth century, is often described as ‘belated’, translation into Italian vernaculars, which begins at exactly the same time, has been admired as ‘precocious’. Elsewhere in Europe translation and commentary are associated with institutions and patronage, but in Italy around the time of Dante, widespread vernacular translation is mostly on the spontaneous initiative of individuals. Moreover these translations, which are largely anonymous and almost all in prose, are not finished works, but rather works in progress, as can be seen in their intricate manuscript tradition that comprises multiple versions and traces of interventions by many hands. Notaries, bankers and merchants of the northern Italian communes, whose dependence on the written word was unprecedented, became engaged in the transcription, domestication and circulation of ancient and foreign literature. As with the Internet today, Italians’ sudden and wide access to reading and writing in this period had the effect of turning readers into writers. Vernacular translation, like Wikipedia, was an environment that lent itself to contributions *by* readers.<sup>1</sup>

The phenomenon of vernacular translation in the first period of Italian literature (1250–1350) has been called ‘oceanic’. Of the 134 vernacular manuscripts dating from before 1350 catalogued in a recent census of the national library in Florence, 97 of them have content that can be described as *volgarizzamento* of classical or medieval material. It is perhaps not surprising that 72 per cent of a vernacular literature so close to its origins would be derived, indeed translated, from other sources. As Gianfranco Folena points out, new literary traditions tend to begin with translations: there are no absolute beginnings. Even so, the imposing proportion of translated literature does give a different picture of the textual landscape of the time than does the typical literary history

dedicated primarily to works of original composition. The handwriting of the manuscripts gives a window not only onto their copyists, but also their readers. It was really at this time and place, as Armando Petrucci has observed, that writers and readers began to be the same people. Of the ninety-seven manuscripts of vernacular translation in the national library, sixty-nine are written in *littera textualis* (a hand used by bookmakers), thirty-five in *bastarda* (used especially by notaries), and five in *mercantesca* (a handwriting developed specifically for the necessities of commerce and accounting by and for merchants without any facility in Latin). As Teresa De Robertis points out, these five *volgarizzamenti* indubitably penned by merchants are a suggestive indicator of a vocational predilection for translated works, since there are only a total of seven manuscripts in *mercantesca* of any vernacular literature before 1350 preserved in the library.<sup>2</sup>

This explosion of translation activity was directly connected with social, religious, political and economic practices in Italy. Notaries were daily translators, mediating between a legal culture in Latin and the vernacular society regulated by them. But so were the mendicant preachers who vulgarized scripture in their sermons, some of which were the first vernacular sermons to be transcribed in Europe. The first explicit art of letter-writing (*ars dictaminis*) had been articulated in Italy in the thirteenth century. Guido Faba's proposal of vernacular formulas for use in letters alongside Latin exemplars early in the Duecento prompted Cesare Segre to consider *volgarizzamento* as a mentality in Italy even before it became a practice. Urban Italy was a land of writers. As Leon Battista Alberti would say, assessing this culture from the vantage point of the fifteenth century, the good merchant always has his hands stained with ink. Merchants and bankers kept records in register-books that would eventually become small libraries of vernacular texts. Notaries filled in the blank spaces of the Bolognese public records with contemporary lyric poems. It was also a land of speech-makers. Because of their practice of public harangue, the ruling class of citizens of Italian republics had a particular interest in accessing the rhetorical arts and obtaining model speeches in a language they could use. The involvement of *illiterati* – that is, people not trained in Latin – with the written word was key to the demand for translated texts in Italy in this period. Vernacular translation makes it possible for the illiterate to read.<sup>3</sup>

*Volgarizzamento* is a term for translation not entirely translatable into English because it indicates a very clear hierarchical relation between the target and the source language. Even in the so-called 'horizontal' transfer

between French and Italian in this period, the move is between an already well-established literary language and one that is not yet. For us translation is 'news from abroad' or the 'circulatory system of the world's literature'.<sup>4</sup> We think of translation as a communication between different cultures from disparate geographical regions. But vernacularization of Latin literature was not so much an importation of something foreign as a shift in register and social class – from the clergy to the court or, in Italy, to the semi-literate well-off citizens of the city-states for whom written and oral eloquence in the vernacular had practical political, commercial and ethical purposes. Perhaps because such a transfer occurs within a single cultural context, there is some hesitance to call it translation at all. Claude Buridant calls Latin-to-vernacular transfer a *transposition intralinguale* from a language of culture to a language of diffusion. Such a definition makes it possible to consider all manner of medieval apparatus to ancient authoritative texts, such as commentaries, compendia, florilegia and glossaries, a kind of 'vulgarization' even without recourse to any of the vernaculars. Pushing it further, it has been suggested that *any* text written in medieval Latin ought to be deemed a 'translation'.<sup>5</sup>

If all of medieval culture is implicitly or explicitly engaged in the adaptation and appropriation of ancient models in what is generally referred to as the *translatio imperii et studii*, then everyone in this vast project of 'cultural reclamation', from the humble scribe who transmits a work of antiquity, to the medieval compiler who adapts older material to a new narrative, allegorical or didactic purpose, can be considered a translator.<sup>6</sup> Still more generally, the poet Novalis, praising Schlegel for his translations of Shakespeare, observed that, 'To translate is to produce literature, just as the writing of one's own work is – and it is more difficult, more rare. In the end, all literature is translation.'<sup>7</sup> It has even been possible to say that all human understanding, even apart from literary or documentary expression, is the result of the 'translation' of external things into one's own personal idiom.<sup>8</sup> Translation studies today, especially with regard to the relationship between cosmopolitan languages and vernaculars, has become an important field of inquiry for scholars of non-European cultures, concerned about the fate of diverse vernaculars in a globalized world. In the genre of 'cultural translation studies', translation is used to describe cultural exchange that is not necessarily linguistic, such as the 'translation' of persons in phenomena of immigration and exile. Harish Trivedi suggests that post-colonial studies has effectively 'colonized' the term 'translation' for use in a monolingual sense.<sup>9</sup>

It would seem that everything can be called translation except, oddly, vernacular translation. Benvenuto Terracini, for example, declared that in the Middle Ages there was no translation, strictly speaking, but only *volgarizzamento*. This is perhaps because translation is predicated on the equal status of source and target, and in the Middle Ages Latin had no peer. The vernaculars were not standardized, were not taught in school and were subject to constant variation in place and time. Indeed it has been said that the vernacular is not a language at all, but a relationship between languages. Vernacular translation both enacts and undermines that relationship by presuming to offer equivalents across a linguistic and cultural divide. As to the notion that medieval Latin apparatus is already a form of 'vulgarization', it is worth underlining the difference between a 'nativized' language of medieval Latin used to explicate ancient authorities to a professional class of scholars, on the one hand, and the vernacular that makes these same authorities accessible to merchants, bankers, artisans and women, on the other.<sup>10</sup> Until it becomes a successful literary language, the vernacular is severely limited in geographical and chronological reach. Because it is, precisely, not a cosmopolitan language, as Sheldon Pollock defines Latin or Sanskrit, 'written to be readable across space and time', the choice for the vernacular amounts to 'renouncing the larger world for the smaller place'.<sup>11</sup> Yet Pollock uses the term 'vernacularization' not for renditions of specific texts into another language, but for all expression in a new literary language which he sees always as a deliberate and conscious act of cultural transfer (and hence, in the wide sense, translation).

In this book the terms 'translation', 'version', 'vulgarization', 'vernacular translation' and 'vernacularization' will be used as equivalents of *volgarizzamento*, since it is all those things.<sup>12</sup> What is lost in these English renditions of the term is the odour of vulgarity associated with the language of the *volgo*, the humility of the genre, the intent of popularization (*divulgazione*) and the effect of what is feared to be a concomitant debasement of the authorities in the interests of their dissemination among a less learned, less 'subtle' class of people. The editors of a recent anthology of medieval English discussions about the choice for the vernacular contend that the modesty of these writers, even as they submit their work to improvement by its eventual readers, is but a topos, and the 'anxiety' of writing in the lesser language but a trope.<sup>13</sup> I contend on the contrary that the anxiety of *volgarizzamento* was quite real, as Pollock has also insisted, and that it led eventually to an abandonment of vernacular translation towards the end of the fourteenth century. Early Italian

translators can seem of two minds about their project: on the one hand confident that their task will be useful; on the other concerned about the betrayal that translations inevitably entail, especially between the language of the *dottori* and that of common, unlearned, so-called 'illiterate' men or, even, women. Women were a genuine motive for vernacularization, as well as a convenient excuse, so that this anxiety often takes a gendered form that I argue is as real and unrealistic as the concerns motivating successive sumptuary laws in the same period (Chapter 1).

The paradox of vernacular translation is that it aims to educate the uneducated through a medium that remains irreducibly *of* the uneducated. That is to say, these are not primers for students in the process of getting an education; rather they are a compromise substitute for real learning, directed at those people who cannot or will not become learned in Latin letters – because of their vocation, their class or their sex. Although children learned their letters through Latin schoolbooks and psalters, that does not mean they could read ancient or even medieval Latin fluently.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, the intensely documentary culture of the city-states and their commercial and financial activities required widespread engagement with the written word, producing a habit of reading and writing also in the vernacular.

In its first phase, *volgarizzamento* is a practice of 'domestication' rather than 'foreignization'. This is true in France where the transfer of classical literature 'into romance' meant an adaptation to a modern literary genre as well as a shift in language. Early Italian translators were equally interested in finding modern equivalents for ancient terms, but their almost exclusive use of prose suggests not only that they lacked a comparable indigenous literary tradition in which to convert ancient material, but that their intent was primarily explicative. Early translators were less interested in how the Romans differed from the moderns than in the connections and commonalities between the two. Roman history, especially in Italy, was considered 'our' history. Whatever the fundamental cultural differences between contemporary Italy and ancient Rome, or between the Italian republics and the French courts, vernacularization effectively muted them. So too did translations of religious texts, including the Bible, render them less sacred, more on a par with other edifying literature.

*Volgarizzamento*, like other forms of medieval translation, is essentially an exercise in commentary, adapting an unchanging authoritative text to changing circumstances.<sup>15</sup> As James Zetzel has observed, while the scribe of a manuscript by an *auctor* 'was constantly trying to reproduce a text

that had been composed centuries earlier', the scribe of a commentary 'was trying to keep what he wrote up-to-date and useful. He wrote for the present, not to preserve the past . . . Preserving the continuing vitality of one text necessarily meant constant alteration of the other.' Zetzel remarks, moreover, that 'medieval exegesis is one of the kinds of text – ancient legal writing is another – in which even a pre-modernist may legitimately question the stability of the concept of "text" itself'.<sup>16</sup> James Boyd White reminds us that even today legal writing is just as much a problem of translation, essentially because the law, which is fixed and written, when applied to new contexts has always to be translated into the current situation, made relevant to immediate needs. He writes that 'the process of giving life to old texts by placing them in new ways and in new relations is of course familiar to us as lawyers'.<sup>17</sup> Pollock observes that vernacularization – which for him means the literization of a spoken tongue – typically occurs in documents before it is used in literary expression. Although that does not seem to be the case with the literization of Italian vernaculars, much of the earliest Italian literature is attributed to notaries, protonotaries and judges. As we have already observed, notaries were translators by profession since they had to interpret a growing legal documentation to an 'illiterate' population increasingly dependent upon it.

Because *volgarizzamenti* function like commentary, they are particularly liable to accretion, reduction and reuse, which makes their textual tradition exceedingly intricate. This is true even of so-called 'artistic' translations that are just as eagerly mined for relevant material in subsequent compilations and updated to reflect a changed environment of reception or changed knowledge about the source text, its language and its culture. Although commentary may sometimes substitute itself in practice for a distant and obscure source, as Rita Copeland has suggested, vernacular translations in Italy remain ancillary and radically mobile.<sup>18</sup> The great majority are anonymous and in prose, faithful to their models to the point of being dismissed as excessively subservient. At the same time, since their aim is clarity rather than fidelity, they often abbreviate, interpolate and, by following more than one exemplar, contaminate. There is a freedom in vernacular translation written in *lingua soluta*, unfettered by meter, rhyme, any rules of grammar (since the vernacular was thought to have none), or the requirement to remain within what the text actually says. This gives not only translators, but their copyists – people who transmit the text – an extraordinary degree of licence. Once the text has been translated by someone who knows both languages, such



as a notary or mendicant preacher, it becomes possible for and even in a sense incumbent on successive reader-writers to update the translation according to a changed audience or a better understanding. The majority of Italian *volgarizzamenti* are eminently provisional, inviting and receiving continual revision. *Volgarizzamento* is a phenomenon of reading and reception. It is not about substituting itself for authority, but rather about keeping the authorities up to date.

Only after the period of Latin humanism, with its project of translating into Latin from Greek, will the goal of vernacular translation be limited to putting into one language only what somebody said in another, without any scruple to explain what he meant. Gianfranco Folena argues that the modern notion of translation, together with a new word – *traducere* – came out of Leonardo Bruni's reflections on his experience of translating between the two grammatical languages, Latin and Greek. When, after its abandonment in the fifteenth century, *volgarizzamento* returns as an acceptable literary endeavour for the intellectual elite, then it does become an instrument of cultural prestige and state propaganda. In other words, it is only after the eclipse of the original *volgarizzamento* movement by humanism that in Italy there begins to be the sort of vernacularization that is taken as typical of the pan-European movement that Sheldon Pollock, for example, describes as enabling and accompanying the 'production of the nation-state'. For Pollock, European vernacularization in fact replicates the spread of Latin: a function of the power and violence of a conquering state that 'decapitated' the indigenous culture. But because the earliest vernacularization movement in Italy had no sponsoring state, it resembled much more what Pollock has to say about the spread of Sanskrit: that it never theorized its own universality and came into being not through political domination but through 'the circulation of traders, literati, religious professionals, freelance adventurers'.<sup>19</sup>

*Volgarizzamento* implies a transfer not just between two authors (a writer and a translator), but between categories of people – 'da gente a gente', as Terracini put it.<sup>20</sup> Yet in Italy in the fourteenth century, it was not a nationalistic project as it was for Arabs after the seventh century, who were 'among the first in history to establish translation as a government enterprise', or for King Alfred in ninth-century England, or for Alfonso X of Castille in the thirteenth century, or as it would be in the translations sponsored by Charles V in France before his death in 1380.<sup>21</sup> Even though Tuscan is the dominant target language of the surviving translations, this is due to production and consumption, rather than an agenda of cultural prestige as it would be in later fifteenth-century

Florence on the initiative of Lorenzo the Magnificent. And while the vernacularization movement is often said to be 'decisive' for the development of Italian prose, its purpose was not (as it would be later for the humanists putting Greek authors into Latin) to demonstrate the vigour of the target language. While it is true that Dante expressed a nationalistic desire for the promotion of his mother tongue and that it was seconded to some extent by Boccaccio, Dante disdained the prose vernacularizations of his day and Boccaccio, who may well have produced some, certainly never admitted as much. Dante was moreover not writing in or for a state, but in its lamented absence and from his own exile.

The *volgarizzatore* and the humanist both aim at the communication of ancient culture to the present, but the former does so by bringing the text closer to the modern reader while the latter insists on the reader moving, through training in Latin grammar, closer to the text. Ronald Witt has argued that vernacular translations delayed the development of humanism in Florence by making authors accessible without readers having to learn Latin. For the humanists all translations were inadequate because they considered the wisdom of the ancients to be 'encoded in the fiber of the language'.<sup>22</sup> Vernacularization was in that context antagonistic to the humanist movement and its philological approach to texts. Rather than trying to make the ancients accessible to the moderns by updating their language, humanists insist on readers equipping themselves in an archaic or artificial language in order to be able to converse on a level with the ancients, as Petrarch was the first to do. The humanist puts on 'regal robes' in his approach to ancient literature, as Machiavelli says of his own evening reading in a famous letter, whereas an 'illiterate' reader like the protagonist of a novella by Sacchetti, enabled by vernacular translation, drags the *auctoritates* through the muck of the present-day world (Chapter 1).

The impulse of *volgarizzamento* and that of philological precision are diametrically opposed. The term 'vulgate' is in fact used of versions of a text that are not critically aligned as closely as possible with the origins of a text but, on the contrary, are the most widely disseminated, most popularly consumed. Employing philological principles of collation and emendation, Petrarch was the first to try to reconstruct the surviving 'decades' of Livy, thereby repairing what he lamented as the damage of centuries of lazy and illiterate readers. For Boccaccio (if it was he) to produce a vernacular version of Petrarch's labour (in the *volgarizzamenti* of the third and fourth decades) was to go exactly against the philologist's enterprise by putting the painstakingly restored 'original' back into the

hands of illiterate, and therefore presumably lazy, readers. What the vernacularization of the reconstructed Livy epitomizes is the contemporaneity of the two movements – one bringing authors down to readers, the other bringing readers up to authors.

On the other hand, Witt suggests that *volgarizzamenti* prepared the ground by making the authors they translated familiar to upper-class families who would eventually be persuaded to give their sons a humanist education.<sup>23</sup> Yet when the tools of modern philology introduced by the humanists are applied to ‘vulgar’ translations that were of no interest to them, it is possible to trace how the scruples of the Latin philologists in fact grew out of repeated efforts to translate ancient authors into the vernacular. In his examination of the various versions of Livy and the vernacular glosses to Valerius Maximus, Giuliano Tanturli has shown how the constant updating of *volgarizzamenti* produced, as he calls it, a ‘sedimentation of culture’, so that the latest *volgarizzatori* are in fact the first humanists, whose growing awareness of the alterity of ancient history, religion and mores made them increasingly dissatisfied with vernacular equivalents. Over time, the *volgarizzatori*, particularly when they go back to retranslate things that were already translated a first time, tend to restore the original Latin word or to use (or coin) a Latinism that works in the vernacular but clearly recalls the foreign term behind it – *repubblica* instead of *comune*, *milite* instead of *cavaliere*, and so on. This retrieval of Latin is in part an awareness of difference, as opposed to a presumption of continuity, between the ancient and modern worlds, and shows an effort to press the vernacular into another mould. In effect it is translation that moves away from translation, back towards the source.

The story of *volgarizzamenti* is the story of people trying to understand, and it leaves traces of many a misunderstanding, corrected not so much by any individual pedant (say, Giovanni Boccaccio) but by the force of many readers over time. *Volgarizzamento* contains the seeds of its own destruction, because the desire for greater understanding of content leads ultimately back around to a desire for a greater understanding of the source language, and less tolerance, in the end, for translation because it necessarily misconstrues. Vernacular translation puts the venerable and unchanging *auctores* into words that are local, of the moment, inherently updatable and hence ultimately forgettable. At the other end of the fifteenth century, the Neapolitan librarian, Giovanni Brancati, decries the inevitable obsolescence of vernacular translations. It is a work demanding infinite labour, promising little or no glory, that in very few months will be forgotten, if not trampled underfoot.<sup>24</sup> Proof of short shelf-life is the fact that Brancati

himself was asked to retranslate Pliny's *Natural History* which Cristoforo Landino had finished putting into Tuscan only a brief time before.

The infinite perfectibility of translations was obvious to readers of early versions who were accustomed to encountering regional differences in language that copyists sometimes 'corrected' by their own lights to suit their own time and place, but sometimes let stand. This tolerance for difference meant that Italian copyists could also transcribe entire texts in a *volgare* not their own, although they often left behind their own linguistic patina. In the case of franco-veneto, this imperfect transcription or incomplete translation led to the emergence of a hybrid language used only in literature. There is a poignancy to the early *volgarizzamenti*, whose protestations of inadequacy and fears of betraying the source are as real as any translator's today but, in addition, whose target language was a virtual guarantee of their works' short life. That they survived to be studied as historical artefacts has to do with circumstances unforeseeable from the perspective of their making: that is, the solidification of Tuscan as a standardized and ultimately national language for Italy.

Rita Copeland argues that translation was not just central to medieval literary practice but that it was an expression of the newer culture's will to substitute itself in place of the older, more venerable one; the 'chief maneuver' of vernacular translation was to displace its Latin source. Like many histories of vernacular translation in Europe, Copeland traces this Oedipal desire in English literature back to Dante whose ambition to become a vernacular auctor, as Albert Ascoli has recently demonstrated, was portentous.<sup>25</sup> The recent *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism* covers vernacular translation and commentary in English, French, German and Spanish literary traditions in one chapter, whereas the new theories of the relationship between Latin and vernacular in Italy are the subject of a chapter of their own – beginning, of course, with Dante. Yet Dante's effort to confer authority on himself and on his language was not generally shared by the numerous and mostly anonymous producers of *volgarizzamenti*. The vernacular translators of Dante's day had no explicit agenda of fortifying this or that mother tongue, but only to make useful knowledge available to those to whom it would otherwise be inaccessible. I argue in Chapter 5 that Dante is working against the grain of the vernacularization movement all around him, condemning Brunetto Latini as its epitome. His vision of translation has much more in common with the modern notion of a 'transformation of one text into another' held by the likes of Steiner, Borges and Benjamin than with the prosaic 'transfer of a text from one language to another' that describes most *volgarizzamento* of his contemporaries.<sup>26</sup>

At the same time, the existence of an already large literature on an encyclopedic range of subjects in translation was the precondition for Dante's unprecedented ambitions for his native tongue. Embarking on a poem of the magnitude and gravity of the *Divine Comedy* presupposed the production of literature in vernacular translation already in full swing. However much we want to admire Dante's apparently solitary courage in going against the literary pedants of his day who begged him to write in Latin, the vernacular epic would have been simply unthinkable without a readership and a literature already in place. Not just the elite circle of sonnet-writing friends Dante calls 'love's faithful', this readership comprised consumers and producers of a wide range of literature in the vernacular: of historical and devotional compilations, rhetorical handbooks, works of ethical advice, philosophical treatises and epic poetry – all of it translated. Moreover, placing the *Divine Comedy* against this background also makes evident how Dante was reacting *against* this movement for reasons different from those that would later lead Petrarch and his humanist followers to disdain vernacular translation.

The editors of the *Idea of the Vernacular* point out that authorship in the Middle Ages was conceived of as dependent not on singular originality but on participation in an authoritative tradition. It is only with the Italian poets of the Trecento that 'concepts of extensive authorial control begin to be applied with confidence to vernacular poetry'.<sup>27</sup> Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, for whom the self-appropriation of authority is indeed a goal, are typically taken as the supreme examples of the vernacularization movement in Italy. Yet these careers of extreme poetic ambition occurred against a background of actual translation into the vernacular that all three made a point of rejecting – including Boccaccio, who seems to have been a rather prolific perpetrator of the genre. If Boccaccio was responsible for versions and glosses of Livy, Valerius Maximus and Ovid, as modern scholars have argued, he certainly did not acknowledge let alone boast of it.

Volgarizzamenti have been studied seriously and continuously in Italy since the nineteenth century. We have already observed that the impulse of volgarizzamento and that of philological precision are diametrically opposed. The field of textual criticism finds its greatest challenges in popular, mobile traditions, like those of vernacular translation, in which originality and establishment of authorship were never sought from the beginning. It is out of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of producing critical editions of volgarizzamenti that much important and dynamic philological work has been done in recent years in Italy.

This book does not attempt a comprehensive treatment of the 'ocean' of vernacular translation in the early period of Italian literature, nor a new close philological study of any one *volgarizzamento*. My aim has instead been to present a synthetic reassessment of translation in Italy in its earliest period, to 'vulgarize' not just the existence of this corpus, which is somewhat known even outside of Italy, but also the recent philological work on it, which generally is not. Because the European experience of vernacularization is often the 'model' for discussions of the phenomenon in other contexts or disciplines, I believe it is important to have a clearer picture of what the precocious Italian phenomenon of *volgarizzamento* was about before and despite the three famous authors who rejected it.

In contemporary terms, this book is about the tension between philological rigour and teaching 'world literature in translation'. Translation has become so ordinary and anglophone culture so dominant that we think it natural that all things can and should be said in English and that all the world's literature can be taught in translation quite unproblematically. Yet Lawrence Venuti has described the disproportionate number of works translated from English as compared with the number of works from other languages translated *into* English as an import deficit. Perhaps even more disproportionately, some works get translated over and over again like a concert hall repertory. As Susan Sontag observes, this is not only because all translation is imperfect and provisional, but because translation is an evangelical, not just a mercantile mission, aimed at enlarging the readership of a book deemed important and thereby betraying the assumption 'that some books are discernibly better than other books'.<sup>28</sup> Canon formation is often talked about as something imposed from above, as indeed it can be. Yet the immediate preference for rhetorical works and Roman history that has been said to distinguish early Italian translation from French adaptations of classical literature was not part of a state-sponsored agenda. The agents responsible for these vernacularizations had their ideas about the utility of certain authoritative texts; the ones that got copied more frequently clearly hit a chord that others did not. This is as close we can get to market demand in an age before printing. Vernacularization not only permits a different class of people to read literature previously inaccessible to them; it also gives them the opportunity to copy, elaborate, compile and circulate the ones that appeal especially to them. *Volgarizzamento* is a space of reader-initiated reception and transmission. To be sure, there was a canon in a hegemonic language – actually two hegemonic languages, Latin and French. But the choice of *what* to translate was determined largely by what potential

readers thought would be useful to them and to their neighbours, and it was by no means identical what was favoured in the clerical or courtly culture of the languages of origin.

In Chapter 1, 'Dressing down the muses', a tale by Franco Sacchetti serves as an introduction to the already bygone age of *volgarizzamenti*. Through the character of a historical Florentine citizen, Sacchetti's tale gives us a humorous portrait of the typical mid-fourteenth-century Florentine consumer of such translations. The humour of the tale involving a vernacular reading of the fourth decade of Livy's history, a major conquest of philological reconstruction as well as of vernacular translation, depends upon class differences, the current obsession with sumptuary law, and the analogous anxieties about vulgar reading made possible by *volgarizzamento*. Other tales by Sacchetti, the *Novellino* and works by Giles of Rome, Francesco da Barberino and Giovanni Boccaccio flesh out the telling parallels between endless attempts to legislate women's adornments and concerns about the putting on of learning by the unlettered and perhaps uncouth.

Chapter 2, 'The authorship of readers', takes as its starting point the unfixed nature of vernacular literature in general, satirized in Sacchetti's tales of the mule-driver and the blacksmith, and shows how textual instability is virtually a requirement of *volgarizzamento*, whose reason for being is to be continually up to date. Vernacular translation is a way of rewriting. At the same time, the free infidelity of *volgarizzamento* blurs the distinction between translation and original works. Improvisation and elaboration extend even to the humble copyists who, in the case of *volgarizzamenti*, have ultimately the same role as the 'original' translator: that is, to bring a distant work closer to the present audience. This scruple renders deliberate scribal intervention – disastrous for the reconstruction of texts – standard practice for *volgarizzamenti*, from the subtle movement of words and syntax towards the target language to a conscious questioning, collating and correcting based on ever greater availability of better originals, better translations, better commentaries. Examples of these phenomena are taken from the *Fiore di rettorica*, the *Fatti dei Romani*, and the glosses on the vernacular *Valerio Massimo*.

Chapter 3, 'Cultural ricochet: French to Italian and back again', uses examples of the fortunes of French literature in Italian translation to upset the usual narrative of Italian literary history as an aggressive separation from French cultural dominance. Traces of French literary culture in Italy go back to place names, baptismal names and stone inscriptions of the twelfth century, many of them virtually contemporary with the diffusion of that literature in France. French was used as a literary language in Italy

at least through the end of the fourteenth century. Much French and Occitan literature is preserved in manuscripts transcribed by Italians. The thirteenth-century *Fatti dei Romani* is on the one hand a centrepiece of the role of French literature as mediator of classical antiquity in Italy. On the other, the fortunes of the French *Fait des Romains* in France and Italy suggest that it was Italian readership, transcription and translation that really made the work popular even in its country of origin. Crucial to this exchange was Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*, written in French but fully Italian in its aims and audience, which may have brought the first extract of the French *Fait* into Italy. A fourteenth-century franco-veneto poem attempts to put the sprawling prose *Fatti dei Romani* back into an imagined original of rhyming French verse, handy for busy but pretentious lords to memorize. The *Roman de la Rose* was not only translated into Tuscan sonnets by the author of the *Fiore*; it may also owe some of its characteristics to Jean de Meun's sojourn in Bologna. Guido delle Colonne's Latin *History of the Destruction of Troy*, which obscures the fact that it is really a translation of Bénédict de Sainte-Maure's popular *Roman de Troie*, already being transcribed and elaborated in Italy, became so popular throughout Europe that it eventually supplanted its French source, even in France. If French culture conquered Italy, it was also transformed by the encounter. Moreover, habits of transcription, collating and 'visible' translation (where the residue of the source language shows through) are elements essential to the revolution in reading and textual recovery of Italian humanism which would also have a profound influence on the French Renaissance.

Chapter 4, 'Translation as miracle: illiterate learning and religious translation', begins with the hagiographical story of a contemporary spiritual leader, converted by a vernacular translation. Although the vernacularization movement has been seen as markedly secular – a liberation of culture from a learned language restricted to the ecclesiastical class and an interest in the ethical values transmitted by pagan works – it should not be overlooked that religious literature, often translated by mendicant friars, was an important and in some respects dominant component. What is surprising, especially in contrast with the repression of Lollardy in roughly the same period in England, is the non-problematic nature of such translations – even of the Bible itself. In Italy, biblical, patristic and hagiographic literature was translated in much the same way, in the same spirit and for the same purposes as classical or medieval works on secular subjects. Vernacular preaching had always been an oral forum for translation, but it was in Italy that such sermons were first copied down and compiled in vernacular collections. Vernacular translation of



saints' lives continues a long tradition of hagiographical rewriting that continued well into the humanist period. Saints' lives, unlike the Bible, always had to be updated. But in the context of the vernacular translation, the Bible also becomes fair game, since this sort of translation can be understood as gloss. The anxiety of devotional translation is no less or more than other kinds of translation. The growing prevalence of vernacularizations of devotional texts may also underlie a series of Italian 'translation miracles' where illiterate people, especially women, are suddenly able to read and understand sacred texts. The chapter concludes with a reconsideration of the *Decameron's* first tale and its theme of corrupt intercessors, which correspond (I argue) to the relative lack of concern about corrupt or inferior translations of religious works – so long as they provide access and inspiration to religious truth and moral change.

Chapter 5, 'The treasure of the translator: Dante and Brunetto', focuses on Dante's choice to condemn the renowned notary, citizen, public figure, teacher and translator, Brunetto Latini, for sodomy. This condemnation fits into an overall separation of 'fruitful' literary acts from 'sterile' ones. Rather than a response to Brunetto Latini's 'betrayal' of the mother tongue by writing in French, I argue that the main target of Dante's surprising condemnation is the project of *volgarizzamento*, in which Latini was a pioneer, particularly in bringing Cicero into Florentine. The *Divine Comedy* represents an agenda of vernacularization pointedly opposed to the widespread practice of prose exposition virtually inaugurated by Latini, and markedly more cognate with modern notions of translation expressed most famously in Walter Benjamin's essay, 'The Task of the Translator'.

Chapter 6, 'A new life for translation: *volgarizzamento* after humanism', follows the *volgarizzamento* movement to its end, heralded most emblematically by Petrarch's translation of Boccaccio's tale of Griselda into Latin, and to its return in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The translation and retranslation of ancient texts was opposed in spirit to the Latin philological project of Italian humanism but also helped to bring it about. Translation was essential to this project, but only between the two 'grammatical' languages: Latin and Greek. When vernacularization re-emerges on the other side of humanism, it is much more like the politically motivated programme of affirming national language and cultural prestige that is thought to be typical of vernacularization in Europe, but it is not how vernacular translation in Italy began.

*Dressing down the muses: the anxiety  
of volgarizzamento*

There is a short story in Franco Sacchetti's *Trecentonovelle* that depicts a Florentine citizen of the previous generation seated at a table reading Livy's history of Rome (*Titolivio*) on a Saturday afternoon. The episode of the Roman women's protest at the Capitoline against the Oppian law that limited their use of luxury clothing sends this wise man into a rage.<sup>1</sup>

There was once a citizen in Florence, wise and very well-to-do, whose name was Coppo di Borghese, and he lived across from where the Leoni are now, and he was having his house worked on. Reading one Saturday afternoon in *Titolivio*, he came upon a story of how the Roman women, against whom a law had been made recently against their ornaments, had run to the Capitol, asking and pleading that that law be lifted. Coppo, although wise, was also haughty and irascible, and he began to fly into a rage, as if the events were happening in front of him.

He bangs book and hands on the table and is moved to address the Romans directly, exhorting them, as rulers of the world, to maintain their sovereignty over their own women: 'Alas, Romans, will you suffer this, you who have suffered that no king or emperor be greater than you?' In his apoplexy, he tells masons who come for payment for their work on his house that he would rather the whole edifice collapsed on top of him, and raves about miserable, shameless whores whom he would have burnt as a lesson to the others.<sup>2</sup> The workmen, perplexed, offer different interpretations of the man's behaviour, in which lies the joke of the story. One worker understands *romani* to be a certain measurement of weight.<sup>3</sup> Another supposes that his mention of whores is caused by some infidelity of his wife. A third says he understood that Coppo had a headache, mistaking the Florentine word for 'Capitol' (*Campidoglio*) for the phrase *del capo mi doglio* (I complain of my head). A fourth thought the complaint was not of a headache but a spilled cup of oil (*un coppo d'oglio*) – which could also be a play on their angry patron's name.

The little story is about misunderstanding, or mistranslation – ‘howlers’ as they have been called by schoolboys learning Latin – on the part of simple, uneducated people, presented as inferior to the novella’s protagonist, its author and its readers who, presumably, get the joke. The tale we read dramatizes, more precisely, a reading of a reading, because the workmen are not interpreting a text directly, but another person’s reading of it. The meaning is inevitably garbled, as in the game of telephone. But the string of readings is longer than that, because there is good reason to believe that the book responsible for the master’s anger and his workers’ puzzlement is not the Latin text of Titus Livy’s *Ab urbe condita*, but a vernacular translation of it, as Francesco Maggini was ‘pleased to imagine’ in his study of the first volgarizzamenti of Livy.<sup>4</sup> So if the workmen translate Romans into units of measure and the Capitol into headaches and cups of oil, they are in a parodic way continuing the work of translation, adaptation and appropriation that in Italy goes by the name of volgarizzamento.

Franco Sacchetti is writing from what has been seen as the end of the age of volgarizzamenti. The new literary avant-garde steeped in Ciceronian rhetoric was interested in translating only *into* Latin from Greek or even, on occasion, from the vernacular, as happened with some of Sacchetti’s own tales.<sup>5</sup> The project of vernacular translation, like his own project of composing collections of novellas in the vernacular, is becoming passé, if not altogether obsolete. At the time Sacchetti is writing (c.1392), Giovanni Boccaccio is long dead and the humanist movement inspired by Petrarch is in full swing in Florence. Carlo Muscetta suggested that at the gatherings of the new *letterati* at the villa Paradiso of his friend and correspondent, Antonio degli Alberti, Sacchetti must have felt completely out-of-date (*un superato*), part of the old guard of vernacular literature.<sup>6</sup> Sacchetti did not perceive his age as the beginning of a new renaissance, but the passing of a time when vernacular poets were also erudite – when Boccaccio had made a ‘school’ for knowing how to read Dante. He writes in one of his poems:

Come deggio sperar che surga Dante,  
che già chi ’l sappia legger non si trova?  
E Giovanni, ch’è morto, ne fe’ scola.<sup>7</sup>

How should I hope that another Dante rise, when already no one can be found who knows how to read him? And Giovanni, who is dead, had made a school for it.

In the tale of Coppo’s reading of Livy, Sacchetti looks back at a moment in his town some half a century earlier, when the phenomenon

of vernacular translation was still going strong. The reader in the story is a prominent citizen of Florence, Coppo di Borghese Domenichi, who held many governmental offices between 1308 until 1338 and died sometime between 1348 and 1353.<sup>8</sup> In the *Decameron* where Coppo is cited as the source for a story about Federigo degli Alberighi, Boccaccio describes him as 'a man of great and reverend authority in our day, very renowned and worthy of eternal fame for his comportment and virtue, much more than for the nobility of his blood'. He is remembered as an old man, taking pleasure in reminiscing with his neighbours and others about 'past things', at which he was better than anyone else.<sup>9</sup> In his autograph notebook, the *Zibaldone Magliabechiano*, Boccaccio includes him in a list of illustrious men among notable Tuscan authors and personages, calling him a Florentine, great lover of the republic, in the way of a father.<sup>10</sup> Coppo, described as a 'venerable man', also serves as an archive of oral Florentine history in Boccaccio's commentary on Dante.<sup>11</sup> Both Boccaccio's and Sacchetti's remarks suggest that he was wealthy without being noble or particularly learned. For Boccaccio, Coppo's authority is in the area of urban oral history; Sacchetti has him comically overreacting to something he gleaned from a difficult book, something he surely associated with a problem of municipal enforcement in his own day: sumptuary law.

Yet there is independent evidence of Coppo's interest in things of the Roman past. He is mentioned as the sponsor or dedicatee of one of the first *volgarizzamenti* of the *Aeneid*. The *volgarizzatore*, a notary by the name of Andrea Lancia, also thought to be the author of the Ottimo Commento on the *Divine Comedy*, explains that he produced his version, not directly from Virgil's poem, but from a Latin prose compendium made by a certain Frate Anastasio. In one of the manuscripts the *volgarizzamento* is said to have been made by Ser Andrea at the request of a friend.

Completed are the twelve books of Virgil which Friar Anastasius of the order of the Franciscans put from verse into prose. And said Latin prose Ser Andrea di Ser Lancia translated very elegantly into pleasing vernacular at the behest of one of his friends.

In two other manuscripts, the prologue claims that the Latin compendium and its Italian translation were both made at the behest of the prologue's addressee: 'you, Coppo'.

This book, for you, Coppo, brother Anastasius of the order of the Franciscans, a discerning and literate man, with great effort brought over from verse to prose . . . And then at your request, Coppo, I translated Anastasius not very easily from Latin into the vulgar tongue.<sup>12</sup>

It is highly unlikely that this patron of reductions and volgarizzamenti would have been reading his *Titollivio* in the original.

Livy's work, revered from a distance but not well read in the Middle Ages, because of both its imposing size and its pre-imperial ideology, was a conquest of vernacular translation of the fourteenth century. Although Dante cites Livy as an infallible authority ('Livio scrive, che non erra'), he seems never to have used him as a direct source.<sup>13</sup> The Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani, active in the Florentine government during the same period as Coppo di Borghese Domenichi, likewise praised Livy as 'maestro di storie'. Yet Villani probably did not read him in the original either, since he relied on volgarizzamenti for his own work, including on Andrea Lancia's version of the *Aeneid* just mentioned.<sup>14</sup>

In the thirteenth century, the third and fourth decades of Livy were fairly rare books – especially the fourth, which was so hard to come by that Giuseppe Billanovich called it 'subterranean'. The surviving decades (I, III and IV) did not circulate together after the end of the Roman period until Petrarch collated them all in a single manuscript (now Harley 2493). By 1290 all of them had become known to the early Paduan humanist, Lovato Lovati (d. 1309), who passed them on to some of his learned friends. Their combined interest fomented a 'rage' for Livy around the turn of the fourteenth century. Between 1325 and 1329, Petrarch collected and copied out portions in his own hand, correcting the text with the help of other versions now lost. He complained to Boccaccio about the work's mutilation into so-called 'decades' by lazy readers. The earliest Italian translator of Livy, working in Puglia sometime before 1323, only got as far as the first decade and seems to have been using a French translation, rather than the original. Yet the Florentine volgarizzamenti of the third and fourth decades, the latter of which Coppo di Borghese would be reading in Sacchetti's story, are both based on the text reconstructed by Petrarch. They are examples of the best 'artistic' translations of the period, closely following and even imitating the original.<sup>15</sup> In both texts, the vernacular is stretched and transformed to mimic Latin syntax, suspending the verb, for example, as often as possible until the end of the sentence, and finding new, more Latinate forms for old words. The translation of the third decade, in particular, makes every effort to conserve Latin vocabulary, rather than to find medieval equivalents, even to the point of using what we would call 'false friends' in Italian.<sup>16</sup> Giuliano Tanturli finds that the volgarizzamento of the third decade differs from that of the fourth not so much linguistically as in its humanistic awareness of cultural differences between the ancient and modern worlds – taking care

to translate *miles* with the Latinism *milite* rather than the medieval and imprecise *cavaliere*. A volgarizzamento of Livy has been attributed to Boccaccio at least since his early biographer, Sicco Polenton (1375/6–1448).<sup>17</sup> The proem of the volgarizzamento of the fourth decade dedicates it to the lord of Ravenna, Ostagio da Polenta (d. 1346), under whose patronage Boccaccio indeed lived for a time. So when Coppo hit upon the episode of the Roman matrons' revolt in the fourth book of the fourth decade (*Ab urbe condita* 34.1), he would have been reading, that is, not an 'old' book, but a very new literary phenomenon: the new translation of the newly 'unearthed' and newly reconstructed fourth decade of Livy, quite probably by his own friend and admirer, Giovanni Boccaccio.

Although the workmen in his house are made to look ignorant, as a reader of volgarizzamenti Coppo, too, is technically an illiterate, an 'idiot', someone who does not understand.<sup>18</sup> The translator of the fourth decade explains in the proem that his intention is to make clear the meaning ('la intenzione') of Tito Livio to those 'who do not understand' ('non intendenti'):

Nor is it my intention [*intendimento*] in the exposition of the aforesaid *Decade* always to adhere closely to the letter of the author: because, doing that, I do not see how I could suitably arrive at the intended purpose [*al fine intento*], which is my desire to make clear the meaning [*intenzione*] of Tito Livio to those who do not understand [*a' non intendenti*].<sup>19</sup>

Meaning, understanding, intention are all conveyed by forms of the root word *intendere*. Innocent of modern scepticism about authorial intentionality, the *volgarizzatore* nonetheless clearly places his own 'intention' between the 'intention' of the author and the ultimate 'intention' (in the sense of understanding) of the targeted *non intendenti*. Volgarizzamenti are typically far from word-for-word translation; indeed such translation quite readily turns into exposition or commentary.<sup>20</sup> This translator goes on to say that the limitations of his audience and their idiom are what necessitate his departure from the text he is trying to translate.

Therefore not just in one place but in many he writes so precisely that if only his words, with nothing added, were put down, the vernacular version [*il volgare*] would remain cut short to those, I mean, who are of not too subtle perception, so that they would understand as little from the translated text [*volgarizzato*] as from the original [*per lettera*]. And so in order that all of his meaning can be fully understood even by the roughest people, without departing from his own meaning, I think that it is useful in some places to fill out his words with more.<sup>21</sup>

Franz Bäumel has remarked upon the fact that although the majority of Europe between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries was essentially

illiterate, ‘medieval civilization was a literate civilization’, and there were in fact a whole range of ‘intermediate levels between complete literacy and complete illiteracy’. Vernacular literacy is one of those intermediate levels. Giovanni Villani claimed that both girls and boys went to school in the Florence of his day.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless the audience of *volgarizzamenti* is typically described as a category of people who do not understand, or who are illiterate, unlearned or, as the translator of the fourth decade puts it, ‘rough’ (‘materiali’) and of not too subtle perception (‘quali non sono di troppo sottile avvedimento’). Vernacular translation ostensibly aims to eliminate its audience, by turning those who do not understand into those who do.

One of the earliest *volgarizzatori*, Bono Giamboni, in translating the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in a work called the *Fiore di rettorica*, virtually dooms his own project by proposing to convey to laymen (‘uomini laici’) the teaching of wisemen on the subject of eloquence, but then admitting that their subtle teachings cannot really be explained well in the vernacular:

But, so that laymen can hear something of this way [of learning from the teaching of wise men] I will try to give them some teaching in the vernacular, even though it is not easily done, because the subject is very subtle, and subtle things cannot be opened up well in the vernacular such that people can have full understanding of them.

A later copyist of this text would seem to make matters worse by allowing that a wise translator, or expositor (‘disponitore’), could explain such subtle matters, but that he himself is so not well versed.

But, so that laymen (that is, those who are not lettered) might see something of this way, I will try to give them some instruction, even though it is not easily done well, because the subject is very subtle and I don’t know it very well, and subtle things cannot be opened up well to illiterates in the vernacular such that they can have a really strong understanding of them, if the translator is not wise.<sup>23</sup>

Bono Giamboni advises his audience, described as laymen and illiterates, to have recourse to those who do understand – to supplement orally what they might read in his book.

Therefore, may he who reads in this book first read and reread many times, so that he might understand everything by himself; and should he have doubts about anything and not understand it, let him not fear to have recourse to the wisemen, because asking frequent questions about doubtful things is one of the five keys of wisdom, through which a man can become wise.

The later redactor subtly modifies this advice by underlining the importance of the translation itself in his reader's eventual understanding.

And therefore if he who reads in this little book should have doubts about anything, may he first read and reread many times, so that he might understand everything by himself; because I will even tell them in such a way that he will be able to understand them; and if sometimes he should have doubts about something he does not understand, let him have recourse to wisemen, because they will make him understand it; because asking, etc.<sup>24</sup>

Despite this advice as to how to become wise, it does not appear that the target audience can ever shed its labels of *non intendenti*, *illiterati* and *idioti* because it is their ignorance of Latin that makes them so. Dante called his imagined readers 'noble' even if 'vulgar and illiterate'. Yet while those who commission translations may be noble, they have abandoned literature to those who would pimp it out:

I say that one can clearly see how Latin would have given its benefit to a few, while the vernacular will be truly useful to many. Because the kindness of the heart, that attends to this service, is in those people who, through an evil disuse of the world have abandoned literature to those who have turned it from a lady into a whore; and these noble people [*questi nobili*] are princes, barons, knights, and many other noble people, not only men but also women, who are very many in this language vernacular and unlearned [*volgari e non litterati*].<sup>25</sup>

Even this great proponent of the vernacular as a medium for philosophical exposition in prose, as well as amorous lyric, admitted that Latin manifests many concepts that the vernacular just cannot ('lo latino molte cose manifesta concepute ne la mente che lo volgare far non può'). For example, as he struggles to explain the finer points of human embryology, he surrenders, saying that it is not something to be explained in the vernacular ('non è cosa da manifestare a lingua, lingua, dico veramente, volgare').<sup>26</sup>

The vulgarity of the target language of volgarizzamento defines its readership as such. As Guidotto da Bologna, another author of another version of the *Fiore di rettorica*, puts it, vernacularization needs to be done in such a way as to meet the needs of the laity, that is, *volgarmente*.<sup>27</sup> Giles of Rome in his *De regimine principum* claimed that philosophers invented Latin as their own idiom since they saw that no vulgar tongue could perfectly express the nature of things, the customs of men, the courses of the stars and other things they wanted to discuss.<sup>28</sup> This educational handbook, which Giles wrote in Latin for the son of the king of France, was promptly put into the vernacular so that illiterates like him might understand it. The Italian version, which is a translation of a French



translation, is understandably less explicit about the inadequacy of the vulgar idiom, which has become, after all, the present vehicle for the text.<sup>29</sup>

Volgarizzamento in effect disdains its own audience. The proem to the translation of the fourth decade, which the wise but irascible Coppo di Borghese is reading, makes this palpably clear. The translator's long proem is devoted to explaining how it could have come to pass that noble people (such as the translation's dedicatee) are among the ignorant. It treats, that is, the origin of class. It begins with the creation of Adam when human nature was all one, equally free, equally noble, and its subsequent division into two classes on the basis of merit: the active and industrious in virtue and science on the one hand, and the 'residue' who rightly admired them.<sup>30</sup> Later when there got to be too many people for all those worthy to be princes, only the most preeminent could have the title and honour of lordship; the others, remaining subject to them were called nobles, to distinguish them from their lessers, who were called 'plebian' or 'ignoble'.<sup>31</sup> Yet in contrast to examples from ancient times that can be gleaned from both pagan and sacred literature, nobility today is acquired only by 'force and fortune' and is associated with lust, greed, theft and idleness.<sup>32</sup> Remarkably, in a proem dedicated to just such a modern noble ('nobile cavaliere messere Ostagio da Polenta spezialissimo mio signore'), the translator goes on to say that today a person is thought to be noble if he has amassed a large sum of gold, either by theft or with ill-gotten gains, can amply satiate his appetite with delicate foods and noble wines, and rest his body, born for exertion, in lustful pleasures in tall palaces and soft beds.<sup>33</sup> In such vices they have lost their virtuous habits, and in particular they disdain and repulse the holy study of philosophy and other disciplines that distinguish men from beasts.<sup>34</sup> Whence that study that was originally of the noblest people has been left to mountain folk and shepherds and to poor gentlemen of whom today the schools are full.<sup>35</sup> It is to these humble but educated people that the *maggiori* have recourse when they get up from their banquets with their heads full of their lusts, or return from wasting their time after birds and have to attend to government.<sup>36</sup> Thus it happens that the world is upside-down, as those who should rightly govern are instead governed by the counsel of those who should be governed.<sup>37</sup>

This last affirmation is dizzying as it is hard to keep straight who is supposed to be the ruler and who the ruled. On the one hand it seems that the ruler is inappropriately being ruled by his subjects; on the other it would appear that these educated subjects, rather than their bawdy prince, should be the ones to rule. The translator identifies himself in the next

line with those who came to study out of necessity, that is, the class of humble shepherd scholars who give carousing lords advice. It is hard not to think that the translator is insulting his audience.<sup>38</sup>

#### VOLGARIZZAMENTO AND SUMPTUARY LAW

Despite the hierarchy among the unlettered that Sacchetti's tale projects, between the rough artisans and the semi-educated citizen perusing important tomes at his leisure, the underlying suspicion of the vulgarity of volgarizzamenti and their readers remains. Coppo's reading of the classics, enabled by a volgarizzamento attributed to Boccaccio, does not help to make him more sage or tempered. Rather it brings out his ire. Sacchetti defends Coppo's bizarre outburst at the end of the tale, when the workmen have been paid on Sunday morning after the boss's rage has subsided, saying that it was 'moved by just and virtuous zeal' ('ella si mosse da giusto e virtuoso zelo').<sup>39</sup> The narrator intervenes to agree, that is, that women who demand license to wear finery are an outrage. Coppo's righteous indignation does suggest, however, that he has made the connection of relevance between Roman history and present-day Florentine culture and politics – between the Oppian law, instituted under the threat of Hannibal and repealed under pressure of female protest twenty years later, and sumptuary legislation that had been a Florentine obsession throughout the fourteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Sacchetti's choice of this precise episode of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* to dramatize his own comic scene of vulgar reading makes explicit affinities between volgarizzamento and sumptuary law, between illiterates' access to learning and women's appropriation of luxury.

Late medieval sumptuary law, which originated in Italy, also enters into the problematic of vernacularization. Among Italian towns Florence far outdid its neighbours in its number of ordinances. Giovanni Villani records the legislation of April 1330 as particularly useful and honourable, so that it was copied by almost all the other cities of Tuscany. Between 1324 and 1355 – during roughly the same period that Coppo was active in the government – innovations in Florentine sumptuary ordinances reflected a growing mastery of terminology and classification of prohibited ornaments, culminating in their translation into the vernacular in 1355–6.<sup>41</sup> Sumptuary norms were not in fact the first ordinances to be translated into the vernacular (the first was in 1343), but in the first half of the fourteenth century, Tuscan communes were generally moving towards putting laws into a language that those affected by them could understand.<sup>42</sup>

In 1356 a Florentine commission recommended the wholesale translation of the recently revised city statutes order to vitiate illiteracy as an excuse:

so that those artisans and lay people might read and understand for themselves those statutes and ordinances, they provided and ordered that said statutes of the Comune would be put into the vernacular and would be kept in the vernacular in some public place where anyone could read them and easily gain understanding from them.<sup>43</sup>

As a first priority, this document goes on to state that 'ordinances should be established for the restraint of the citizens' immoderate expenditures for the ornaments of women as well as other things'. These new ordinances should naturally be added to the existing ones, and be translated into the vernacular like the rest. The task of translation was given to the same Andrea Lancia who produced the vernacular *Aeneid* upon the request of Coppo di Borghese, mentioned above.<sup>44</sup>

Sumptuary law has a special relation to the problem of *volgarizzamento*, first because of the guaranteed 'illiteracy' of its main target (even the noblest ladies are, to put it in Dante's terms, 'vulgari e non litterate') and because of the astonishing mobility of sartorial vocabulary, always changing, in part, to escape the letter of the law. As historians of the phenomenon have noticed, Sacchetti himself illustrates this point in another of his novelle (137), in which an intelligent and otherwise competent *podestà* and his *notaio* are incapable of enforcing the law because the ladies, in a remarkable display of logic and argumentation, always demonstrate that what they have on does not correspond to the term listed in the ordinance – not *bottoni* but *coppelle*, not *becchetto intagliato* but *ghirlanda*, not *ermellini*, but *lattizzi*.<sup>45</sup> We can read about buttons in Andrea Lancia's translation of the law:

May no lady, either woman or girl, dare to wear in the city of Florence, in her house or out of it, any enamelled buttoning or buttons, on any garment, or on top of which there is anything enamelled or made of pearls or precious stones or mother-of-pearl: and no buttoning of any garment of the aforesaid ladies, either women or girls, can go beyond the elbow of the sleeves: and no buttons can be worn on any garment where there are no buttonholes to secure those buttons.<sup>46</sup>

Sacchetti's notary accordingly declares, 'You cannot wear these buttons' ('Questi bottoni voi non potete portare'). To which the lady responds, 'Yes, Sir, I can, because these are not buttons but studs; and if you don't believe me, look: they have no stem, nor is there any buttonhole' ('Messer sí, posso, ché questi non sono bottoni, ma sono coppelle; e se non mi credete, guardate: e' non hanno picciuolo, e ancora non c'è niuno occhiello').

In the light of the sumptuary law, the lady's reasoning is marvellously circular. She is not supposed to wear purely ornamental buttons that cannot be buttoned because they have no buttonholes. Hers cannot be buttons, she says, because there are no buttonholes.

Sacchetti's notary goes around town trying to write down what the women have on, and the women continue to wear whatever they want. 'Do not write me down', says one, after demonstrating that her outfit escapes written classification.<sup>47</sup> Sacchetti himself, who was one of the priors of the government of Florence at the time of this episode (1384), remarks at the end of the tale that from that day forward virtually no official ever made it his duty or ever went to any trouble over enforcing those laws, letting *ghirlande* go for *becchetti* as well as *coppelle*, *lattizzi* and *cinciglioni*.<sup>48</sup> We read in Andrea Lancia's translation of the statutes that *ghirlande* are in fact one of the few ornaments permitted in the law:

Except that the ladies and maidens, for the adornment of their heads, can each wear without penalty a garland or headband, but in such a way that it is not made like a crown.<sup>49</sup>

The trouble is not just with the indomitability of women, it is with language itself, which is the specific vocation of the notary. A notary's job was not only to 'write down' as it appears in the novella, but to translate. He would have to record in Latin what was conveyed to him orally in the vernacular, and he would have to render into the current idiom what was contained in documents that interested parties might not be able to understand. The fourteenth-century jurist Bartolo da Sassoferrato wrote in a commentary on civil law that all day notaries put into rustic speech what is said in written speech ('Tota die notarii vulgarizant rustico, quod est dictum in literali sermone').<sup>50</sup> As Dino Compagni described the notary's vocation in a sonnet, he must be both a good writer and a good talker; he must write a lot in Latin, interrogate people wisely and promptly, and know how to compose, read and translate in good *volgare*.<sup>51</sup> Brunetto Latini, a notary himself, frequently insists on the important roles of notaries in his advice on good government in the *Tresor*: how they must read ordinances aloud and put speeches into writing – not everything they say, but the essence, and how the *podestà* must 'honour and love' his notaries 'for they have in their hands the great part of his honour and of his goodness'.<sup>52</sup> Because of their constant movement between the two registers, it is no accident that many of the early translators were notaries, from Brunetto Latini to Andrea Lancia. Notaries were also during the same period key figures in the earliest

Italian literature, starting with the inventor of the sonnet form, the Sicilian Giacomo Lentini, whom Dante calls simply, 'il Notaro' (*Purgatorio* 24.56). They were also the predominant historians of the thirteenth century, compiling communal chronicles from notarial registers.<sup>53</sup>

Dante imagines that the origin of Italian vernacular verse ('dire sì come poeta volgare') was a kind of translation, born when some man wanted to say something to some woman who would have had trouble understanding him in Latin.<sup>54</sup> It is fitting, then, that the first composition transcribed in the singlemost important document of the earliest Italian poetry (Vat. Lat. 3793), 'Madonna, dir vo' voglio', is a translation (albeit from Occitan rather than Latin), expresses the desire to say something to some woman, and was written by a notary, a poet known in fact as *the* notary: Giacomo da Lentini.<sup>55</sup>

Women are often the pretext not only for volgarizzamenti but for vernacular literature in general. One manuscript of the Italian translation of Ovid's *Heroides* bears the frank title, 'Ovidio delle donne'.<sup>56</sup> Even Guido Cavalcanti's difficult, philosophical poem about the nature of love begins by claiming that a lady asked him ('Donna me prega'). Dante addresses the canzone marking an important shift in the *Vita nova* to 'ladies who have intellect of love'.<sup>57</sup> Carlo Delcorno has noted the importance of women copyists in preserving the first vernacular sermons ever written down, in some of which the early fourteenth-century preacher Giordano da Rivalto da Pisa explicitly acknowledges his female hearers and even recommends 'little books' for them to read.<sup>58</sup> Similarly Giovanni da Salerno, the translator of a commentary on the Gospels by another famous preacher (Simone da Cascia), gives responsibility for the work to the women who asked him to do it, whom he describes as 'hungry and desirous to read and to possess some words of the Gospel as he preached it'. To anyone who would criticize such a work of volgarizzamento, dealing as it does with Holy Scripture, and done at the behest of women, he responds with the example of the translator of the Latin Vulgate Bible, Saint Jerome, who translated many writings from one language to another for the consolation of his daughters.<sup>59</sup> Boccaccio, too, had to defend his choice of women as the express audience of the *Decameron*, for whose consolation he claims he wrote it. The female audience justifies the apparently excessive length of his work, written for the entertainment of idle women rather than for scholars who, ironically, have less time for reading and therefore seek out abbreviations and compendia. Women are emphatically not scholars ('since none of you is going to study at Athens, Bologna, or Paris') and yet they read.<sup>60</sup>

The conclusion of Sacchetti's novella 137 on the futility of sumptuary laws is not only that women are greater artificers than Giotto (which was the theme of a preceding novella (136)), but that, despite their lack of education ('senza studiare o apparare leggi'), in dealing with the fashion police they have also become 'terrific logicians' ('grandissime loiche') able to defeat the most learned of men ('vinto gran dottori'). Sumptuary laws cannot be written fast enough to keep up with the rhetoric of ladies' fashions, and this is why they are, 'by their very nature, self-defeating'.<sup>61</sup> Diane Owen Hughes notes in this regard the remark of Cesare Vecellio in his sixteenth-century book on costume, that women's fashions change faster than the phases of the moon, so fast in fact that before you can describe an outfit it has already changed.<sup>62</sup> The vernacular, unlike Latin, has something of the same problem. Like fashion, it is a living organism, impossible to control, and constantly subject to variation, corruption and innovation. Dante was aware of how quickly language mutated: how his great-great-grandfather would have spoken quite a different Florentine than he did, and how vernacular poets might be cherished only 'so long as the modern use shall last'.<sup>63</sup> That is what makes Latin preferable as a legal language. The tension between the need for comprehension on the part of the uneducated group of people targeted by the law together with the need for permanence meant that statutes could even go in and out of the different languages – sometimes updated in the vernacular, and sometimes in Latin.<sup>64</sup> There is in this linguistic oscillation an expression of the ambivalence of *volgarizzamento* in general, which is part of what makes it different from other kinds of translation.

Catherine Kovesi Killerby has recently argued that the difficulty in enforcing sumptuary ordinances came ultimately from the fact that not all luxury was outlawed, but only certain kinds, for certain categories of people. In Lancia's translation, we find almost as much specificity in the categories of women subject to the ordinances as in the terminology describing the prohibited ornaments themselves. He describes the sumptuary ordinances as aimed at 'repressing and regulating the excessive expenditures of the citizens for the clothing and adornments of ladies, maidens, women, and wives'.<sup>65</sup> More categories of women emerge in the course of the text: 'girl, servant girl, married woman. . . woman of whatever status or condition, or called by whatever name' ('fanciulla, garzonetta, femina marita . . . femina di qualunque stato sia o conditione, o per quale che nome sia appellata'). Yet exempted from many of the ordinances are women of a particularly high class ('sieno senza pena et exceptate le moglie de' cavalieri').<sup>66</sup>

The finery of knowledge is similarly not for all to wear. Volgarizzamento is transgressive in that it lets the accoutrement of culture cross over to classes of people defined as ignorant or unlettered. The effect of Livy on Coppo, however wise an illiterate man he may be, is not entirely positive, as we have already noted. Rather than acquiring perspective or philosophical distance on the problems of his day, he becomes incensed. The episode of the Roman matrons' revolt against the Oppian Law is a bit of antiquity that simply confirms his convictions about the present. It is not clear whether he even reads to the end of the passage where the arguments in favour of the women are presented, leading finally to the lifting of the law. What the novella illustrates about this kind of reading in the classics is not its transforming effect, but its reinforcement of what one already is. However wise and authoritative Coppo may be said to be, especially in contrast with the simpleton workers to whom he owes money, his is a rather vulgar reading of *Ab urbe condita*, evident already in the vulgarized label: *Titolivio*. They are improving his house, while he is ostensibly edifying his mind. But rather than rendering him superior and philosophical, it makes him less competent and reasonable than people in a class inferior to his own. In novella 66 Coppo puts on the luxury of knowledge the way women put on lined hoods and extra buttons in novella 137. The analogy between high culture and *haute couture*, both of which are futilely prohibited to women, is made explicit by the mocking approbation of the defiantly well-dressed ladies as great logicians and conquerors of the most learned men. Sacchetti helps to underscore the connection between the reading of the ancient authors in a vulgar context and the putting on of prohibited finery by recalling the one tale in the context of the other.

I want you to know that the Romans, who conquered the world, could do nothing against their women. And they, to remove the rules on their ornaments, ran to the Capitol and won against the Romans, obtaining what they wanted – over which Coppo del Borghese, in a tale of this book, reading said story in Titus Livius, almost went crazy.<sup>67</sup>

Volgarizzamento, then, was a practical and legal concern of the moment in Florence in the middle of the fourteenth century, as well as a literary movement. Volgarizzamenti are immensely useful, both for the content they can transmit as well as the boost that they give the vernacular language itself. As the translator of the fourth decade of Livy from which Coppo is reading in novella 66 puts it: 'knowing ancient histories is very useful in civic affairs' ('il sapere le antiche storie è utilissimo nelle

cose civili'), translating this sentiment from 'Aristotile nel primo della Rettorica sua'.<sup>68</sup> As the source of the citation suggests, however, the ultimate utility of knowing ancient stories is rhetoric, that is, beautiful or adorned speech. In another work, Sacchetti subscribed to this quintessentially Italian privileging of rhetoric, suggesting even that the Gospels themselves are models of rhetorical beauty: 'Rhetoric is beautiful speech, and what is more beautiful than the speech of the Gospels?' And who, he asks rhetorically, is more rhetorical than Christ?<sup>69</sup> In the political and social context of the northern Italian communes, the language itself of *volgarizzamenti*, apart from their edifying or informative content, had a fundamental practical purpose: to help people speak better. Rhetoric, with its many ornaments, is the refinement that Italians, particularly in Tuscany and Reggio Emilia, were most anxious to obtain for themselves. Coppo's spontaneous speech to the Romans in novella 66, prompted by the reading of *Titolivio*, dramatizes the way that reading Latin literature in translation was supposed to improve the talents necessary to a citizen active in the life of his city.

That Italians talk a lot was something of a commonplace in the Middle Ages. Speeches in the Italian mode were defined as having long, circuitous periods, beginning with elaborate compliments on both sides and only at the end getting to the substance of what needed to be said.<sup>70</sup> The communal form of government required talk, *concioni* (harangues) between citizens who spoke to each other in a language that, before the middle of the thirteenth century, had no literary tradition at all. Dante's interest in the 'eloquence of the vulgar tongue' certainly stems from his participation in a political system in which uneducated or semi-educated people held forth in public. They would have learned to do so, according to the *Fiore di rettorica*, by practising and imitating others, but not through the teaching of wise men, which they do not know and cannot know because it is transmitted *per lettera*, that is, in Latin.<sup>71</sup> Boncompagno da Signa noted in the final book of his *Rhetorica novissima* (1235) that the eloquence of public harangue is different from the eloquence of the *litterati*.<sup>72</sup> The thirteenth-century Bolognese lawyer Odofredo describes for us the situation of a loquacious political class unable properly to set down in writing what it had had no trouble talking about out loud.

The plebs of this city fly through the air when they harangue . . . but when they want to make statutes, rather than prudent they should be called asses, because those who make these statutes have neither the language nor the understanding.<sup>73</sup>

What the plebs lack in Odofredo's account, which I have translated as 'language' (*latinum*) and 'understanding' (*sententia*) are actually the two



often conflicting concerns of translation – whether to render a text in literal language – word for word – or to convey its meaning as best one can even if it means straying from the form, concision or verbosity of the original. These ‘plebs’, ignorant of Latin as they are, are clearly in need of someone to explain to them at least the *sententia*. They are in need, in other words, of a *volgarizzamento*.

The political necessity of rhetorical education was what motivated the genre of the earliest translations – such as Brunetto Latini’s *Rettorica* and Giamboni’s *Fiore di rettorica*, as well as summary accounts of Roman history in the very early *Miracole de Roma* and *Storie de Troia e de Roma*.<sup>74</sup> Latini repeatedly made the case for the equation of rhetoric with the art of government. In his encyclopedia, the *Tresor*, written in French but with an Italian audience in mind, for whom it was soon translated, Latini called the science of speaking well and of governing people the ‘most noble art in the world’.<sup>75</sup> In the *Rettorica*, he explained ‘Tullio’s notion that rhetoric, or the “art of speaking well” is a subcategory of “civil science, or the science of cities”’.<sup>76</sup> For these efforts, Giovanni Villani honoured Latini as the first to give some refinement to the Florentines, calling him ‘innovator and teacher in refining the Florentines, and to prepare them in speaking well and in knowing how to guide and govern our republic according to politics’.<sup>77</sup>

From the perspective of the thirteenth century, in order to *digrossare* the citizenry, the ancient texts had to be *volgarizzati*. This is the compromise of *volgarizzamento*, where it is not the reader who is first obliged to undergo training in the rudiments of grammar and then in the rhetorical teachings of Cicero in order to have access to what the *savi* transmit through *lettere*. Rather it is the text that is brought down, transformed, manipulated, updated, expanded and reduced in order to come closer to the reader who has not had time, opportunity or inclination to become one of the *litterati*. *Volgarizzamento* occupies a space between the vast, intimidating world of those who know everything (*i savi*) and the even vaster world of people described as knowing nothing (*illiterati, idioti, non intendenti*). It is the space of compromise, where concessions have to be made both to the cultural horizon and linguistic possibilities of readers, and to the literary language, lofty concepts, or venerable history of source texts. It is the space of interpretation, where the translator is also the commentator, belonging partly to the world of the *savi* (‘se il disponente è savio’, as Guidotto da Bologna says) and partly to the world of the *volgo*.

Alastair Minnis has written on the way vernacular writers even of self-consciously serious literature from Jean de Meun to Chaucer embrace the appellation of 'gross'. Antonio Pucci refers to himself as 'grosso ingegno' in the context of his celebration of Dante in the *Centiloquio*. Sacchetti, who was Pucci's friend, described himself in the prologue of the *Trecen-tonovelle* as 'uomo discolo e grosso'.<sup>78</sup> Valerio Marucci comments that the term *discolo* in this case means uneducated (*senza schola*), and Michelangelo Picone suggests that the adjective *grosso* is the author's deliberate identification of himself with the *etati grosse* Dante had said could eclipse the fame of poets.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, the commentator of the volgarizzamento of Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, whom some suspect is Boccaccio, called himself a 'rough scholar' (*scolaio rozzo*) to distinguish himself from the 'learned master' (*scienziato maestro*) who had begun the work of glossing and translating the text, and who has been identified as that busy notary, translator and commentator, Andrea Lancia.<sup>80</sup>

The label, 'rough scholar', contains within it same double premiss of volgarizzamento – a desire to learn and a lack of learning. The pedagogical project of volgarizzamento is therefore virtually the opposite of humanism, which insists on the Latin language itself as the prerequisite even for laymen. While the humanist teachers will endeavour to equip their pupils to approach the ancient authors, the compromise of volgarizzamento is to make the ancient texts come closer to their modern, ignorant readers. It is perhaps not unlike what Ronald Witt has called the 'realistic despair' in our own pedagogical milieu over students' ever really learning foreign languages – which has necessitated the wholesale adoption of courses on world literature in translation even by foreign language departments.<sup>81</sup> Yet at least for the early *volgarizzatori*, there was a fundamental ambivalence in undertaking to bring down the revered authorities in order to cultivate the illiterate. The tension, within the 'mental situation' of volgarizzamento, between the desire to divulge antiquity and nervousness about its concomitant debasement, would eventually give way to the purism and elitism of the humanist programme of education, which put an end – temporarily – to the age of 'vulgar' translation.

The anxiety of vernacularization is most explicitly expressed in a story contained in the anonymous *Novellino* from the end of the thirteenth century, which is the earliest collection of short stories in the vernacular and which draws on volgarizzamenti for much of its material. The clear purpose of the collection is to enrich the rhetorical repertoire of its vernacular readers by culling examples of good speech: 'This book treats

of some flowers of speech, of handsome courtesies and of fine responses and beautiful gallant deeds and gifts, which many valiant men have accomplished in the past.<sup>82</sup> Yet the act of bringing high culture down to the unlettered is mocked and condemned in one of its shortest tales, quoted here in its entirety, about the very courteous philosopher who vulgarized science.

There was a philosopher who was very courteous in vulgarizing knowledge out of courtesy to lords and to other peoples. One night it came to him in a vision that the goddesses of knowledge, in the guise of beautiful ladies, were in a bordello. And seeing this, he marvelled greatly and said, 'What is this? Are you not the goddesses of knowledge?' And they answered: 'Yes, certainly.' 'How is it that you are in the bordello?' And they answered: 'Indeed it is true, because you are the one who puts us here.' He woke up and thought how vulgarizing knowledge was to minimize its deity. He stopped doing it, and was very sorry. And you should know that all things are not licit to every person.<sup>83</sup>

This little tale, which had an independent circulation in medieval Latin sources, derives from Macrobius' Commentary on the *Dream of Scipio* where the philosopher Numenius is admonished for divulging the secrets of the Eleusian mysteries. Whereas Numenius is too curious about hidden things, the *Novellino's* philosopher is too courteous about telling others – lords and other people – about the goddesses of knowledge. Divulging (*vulgaverit*) has become vernacularization (*volgarizzare*).<sup>84</sup> *Volgarizzare* is the courteous purpose of the entire *Novellino*:

And those who will have a noble heart and subtle understanding can imitate them [the flowers of speech, handsome courtesies, etc.] in times to come, and can speak, and say, and tell them in those places where they will be appropriate, to the benefit and pleasure of those who do not know and desire to know.<sup>85</sup>

The noble and subtle of heart who benefit from the vernacularized flowers of the *Novellino* should also be aware, however, that in passing on knowledge to the ignorant, they could 'minimize its divinity' as the *Novellino* puts it ('menomare la deitade'). Although Aristotle said that all men naturally desire to know, as Dante reminds us at the beginning of his philosophical tract written for the *volgari*, knowledge is not for everyone.

Dante was also thought of popularly as a vulgarizer, as we can see in two anonymous *didascalie* to the so-called *Credo di Dante*, not written by Dante at all but rather by one of his fervid admirers, the ribald Ferrarese poet Antonio Beccari. In one version, a Franciscan inquisitor described as a wise man ('un savio frate Minore') criticizes Dante for writing *canzoni, sonetti*,

*e frasche* instead of a *libro di gramatica* founded on the church of God.<sup>86</sup> Dante asks to postpone their conversation until another day and goes home to his room where he composes the *capitolo* known as the *Credo piccolino*, which so amazes the friar that they become fast friends. In the other version, where the Franciscans are portrayed as far more hostile, Dante asks only until the next morning, to 'give them in writing' his belief in God. The rhyming *Credo*, composed in this incredibly short period of time, is praised for putting all the articles of faith into a single poem, of great use to *uomeni non letterati* and a time-saver for those who would otherwise have to consult a variety of books.<sup>87</sup> Even though he did not actually write this little credo, Dante did have to defend his use of the vernacular against the charge that it threw pearls before swine. Giovanni del Virgilio accused him of bringing the ignorant people (*gens ydiota*) before the gates of Hell and into the secrets of Heaven, while leaving the learned pale from study (*nos pallentes*), who disdain popular song, without a poet of their times.<sup>88</sup> In his learned response in Latin verse, Dante defends his choice of humble words (*comica verba*) which resound habitually on the lips of women ('tum quia femineo resonant ut trita labello').<sup>89</sup>

In Boccaccio's most misogynist work, *Il Corbaccio*, the narrator recounts that the vaunted eloquence of the wicked widow with whom he fell in love was one of her primary attractions. An acquaintance had told him she was 'very eloquent, perhaps not less than any embellished and practised rhetorician' ('eloquentissima, forse non meno che stato fosse qualunque ornato e pratico retorico'). Yet from her first epistolary response, disdainfully termed a *piccola letteretta*, it becomes clear that her rhetorical skills had been vastly overrated. Her words were clumsily put together and appeared rhymed even though they were not, like those (words or women?) who have one foot much longer than the other ('con parole assai zoticamente composte e che rimate pareano, e non erano rimate, sì come quelle che l'un piè avevano lunghissimo e l'altro corto').<sup>90</sup> The rhetorical pretence of the lady is but one more ornament women can put on aimed at deceiving men, like the 'crowns, belts, golden fabrics, ermine furs, many clothes and other ornaments in which they gleam in everyday'.<sup>91</sup> The ghost of the lady's dead husband concludes a long excursus on her cosmetic practices ('questo suo abbellirsi con tanta sollecitudine') saying that such were the ornaments and the eloquence of his wife:

I say that these are her adorned and praiseworthy habits and great wisdom and marvellous eloquence of which your friend, ill-advised of the fact, spoke to you . . . this was the great study and the continuous care she had for honest things.<sup>92</sup>

The widow's letter had made a show of some 'sentiment' of a pagan philosophical opinion, to wit, the transmigration of souls. The narrator says that the lady could have got this notion, which he hastens to describe as incorrect from the perspective of Christianity, only from preachers' sermons rather than from school or from a book.<sup>93</sup> Although it will turn out that the woman did not even write the letter herself, but had her current lover do it in order to have some fun together at the narrator's expense, one can nonetheless glean from the detail that a woman might try to make herself more attractive by putting on a veneer of classical learning and eloquence, and that such a smattering of erudition was available even to women, if not in schools and books to which they might not have access, then in the sermons of preachers, who were also very much involved in the project of *volgarizzamento*.

In the *Decameron*, Boccaccio makes fun of the vulgar context of preachers' eloquence. Fra Cipolla, from Boccaccio's own home town, Certaldo, is said to be a very fine and ready speaker even though he had no learning (*scienza*) at all.

This friar Onion, ... having no learning whatever, was such a fine and ready speaker that, if one had not met him, not only would one think him a great rhetorician, but one would have said he was Cicero himself, or maybe Quintilian.<sup>94</sup>

His is a vernacular eloquence that ingratiate him with the vulgar crowd (*il vulgo*), so that to almost everyone in the county he was a relation, friend, or well-wisher ('e quasi di tutti quegli della contrada era compare, o amico o benivogliente'). He commands an audience that quite explicitly includes women as well as men.<sup>95</sup> In his long narration contrived on the spot to explain the coal in his reliquary in place of the promised feather of the angel Gabriel, Cipolla alludes to what seem to be two rare codices he had in his possession and shared with the patriarch of Jerusalem, a man evidently also interested in books.

And therefore I liberally gave him of the slopes [*gli feci copia delle piagge*] [or: made him a copy of the pages] of Monte Morello in the vernacular and of some chapters of the Caprezio, for which he had been looking for a long time.<sup>96</sup>

While Vittore Branca demonstrated the sodomitic double-entendre of the gift to the patriarch, Gloria Allaire has called attention to its evocation of book-learning. In her interpretation, the friar claims to have made a copy of these texts, marking him as an *amanuensis*, that is, someone able to read and write, as well as a collector of books. Yet the humanistic cachet of the

fantastic titles is explicitly undercut by the admission that one of them, at least, was a translation *in volgare*.<sup>97</sup>

Boccaccio's attitude towards vernacular letters was notoriously ambivalent: the result of an attempt to reconcile his admiration for both Dante and Petrarch. Although the influence of Petrarch on Boccaccio in this regard has long been registered, critics have recently become aware of how, in turn, Boccaccio's enthusiasm for Dante's achievement obliged Petrarch to compete ever more subtly with the older poet and to engage seriously with the vernacular tradition of which his works were the culmination.<sup>98</sup> At the same time, if it did not diminish Boccaccio's admiration for Dante, Petrarch's insistence on the superiority of Latin letters did compel his younger friend to tone down his championing of the Florentine language and celebration of the vernacularization of culture. This shift is quite evident in the different redactions of the *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, which begins with an apology for its linguistic choice – blaming it in effect on Dante.

And I will write in a very humble and light style because my genius lends me one no higher, and in the Florentine idiom, so that I am not discordant with the one that he used in most of his work.<sup>99</sup>

In the first redaction of the *Trattatello* (1351–5). Boccaccio explains that Dante's decision to write in the vernacular had to do with his concern to be useful to his fellow-citizens and other Italians and, while remaining understood by the *letterati*, also to give delight and understanding to the *idioti*, who had been left behind by everybody.<sup>100</sup> In the later redaction of the biography (1360–5), Boccaccio noticeably diminished his celebration of literature written for the illiterate. In this reduced rendition, the virtue of the vernacular is seen in that, without taking away from the *letterati* the use of their wits, it also gives to the *non letterati* an occasion for study.<sup>101</sup> In other words, it does not provide an equal substitute for learning, but a first nudge in that direction.

In much the same way, as Paolo Baldan has pointed out, between the redactions of the *Trattatello* the very notion of poetic vocation moves from persuading everyone to act virtuously to persuading only 'those who understand' (*agli intendenti*).<sup>102</sup> As we saw, the translation of the fourth decade of Livy, attributed to Boccaccio and requested by the 'noble knight of Ravenna . . . my most special lord', was targeted at the *non intendenti*, probably in imitation of Dante's *Convivio*.<sup>103</sup> In that sense, then, the poet's vocation is *not* to address those who do not understand; it is not the same as that of the vulgarizer.

As is well known, Boccaccio derives his discussion of the origins and purpose of poetry from a letter by Petrarch to his brother Gherardo. This passage is so faithful to that source that, as Luca Marcozzi has put it, it might be said to be a *vulgarizzamento* of Petrarch for use by readers of Dante, even though Petrarch's letter essentially excludes natural, everyday or civic language – *vulgari forma* – from the category of true poetry. In the later redaction of the *Trattatello*, where so many things were cut out, the Petrarchan passage remains intact and is indeed expanded.<sup>104</sup> In an even later consideration of the poet's choice for the vernacular, in the accessus to his commentary on the *Inferno*, Boccaccio feels called upon to differentiate the language of the *Commedia* from that of women ('il volgare delle femmine') and admits that, had it been written in Latin, the poem would have been more artful and much more sublime, since that language has more art and more gravity than does the mother tongue.<sup>105</sup>

Most emblematic of this change of heart are Boccaccio's 'penitent' sonnets that express regret and dismay for, as Sacchetti put it, having made a school for reading Dante. He confesses to having committed the folly of 'prostrating' and exposing the hidden parts of the Muses to a *vulgo* described as 'miserable' (*dolente*) 'unworthy' (*indegno*), and 'ungrateful' (*ingrato*) – the 'plebeian dregs' (*fecia plebeia*) – for which crime he is suffering a physical scourge.

S'io ho le Muse vilmente prostrate  
 nelle fornice del vulgo dolente,  
 e le lor parte occulte ho palesate  
 alla feccia plebeia scioccamente,  
 non cal che piú mi sien rimproverate  
 sí fatte offese, perché crudelmente  
 Appollo nel mio corpo l'ha vengiate  
 in guisa tal, ch'ogni membro ne sente.<sup>106</sup>

If I have vilely prostrated the Muses in the fornix of the miserable crowd, and revealed their hidden parts foolishly to the plebeian dregs, it does not matter that I be further reprovved for such offences, because Apollo has cruelly taken vengeance for them on my person in such a way that I feel it in every limb.

He says he is sorry to have offended Dante (wherever he may be) for having opened the concepts of his high genius to an unworthy crowd. Yet he also protests that he did it only because he was asked to by ill-advised

friends, who are not, however, explicitly equated with that vile audience, the ungrateful *meccanici* who try to benefit from his lessons.

Se Dante piange, dove ch'el si sia,  
che li concetti del suo alto ingegno  
aperti sieno stati al vulgo indegno,  
come tu di', della lettura mia,  
ciò mi dispiace molto, né mai fia  
ch'io non ne porti verso me disdegno;  
come ch'alquanto pur me ne ritegno,  
perché d'altrui, non mia, fu tal follia.  
Vana speranza e vera povertate  
e l'abbagliato senno delli amici  
e gli lor prieghi ciò mi fecer fare.  
Ma non goderan guar di tal derrate  
questi ingrati meccanici, nimici  
d'ogni leggiadro e caro adoperare.<sup>107</sup>

If Dante complains, wherever he may be, that the concepts of his high genius have been opened to the unworthy crowd, as you say, by my reading, I am sorry about that, nor let it ever be that I do not scorn myself for it, although I refrain somewhat because such folly was others', not mine. Vain hope and real poverty, and the blinded sense of my friends, and their requests, made me do it. But these ungrateful artisans, enemies of every graceful and precious action, will hardly enjoy such merchandise.

This poem suggests that Boccaccio's mediating activity – as commentator and public lecturer on Dante – was aimed not just at gentlemen, but also at *meccanici*, artisans, day-labourers of the sort that were fixing Coppo's wall in Sacchetti's novella 66. The reason they will not enjoy the 'merchandise' (*derrate*) of his lessons on Dante, as he elaborates in another sonnet (125), is that he did not explain the text to them but led them astray, leaving them high and dry.

Io ho messo in galea senza biscotto  
l'ingrato vulgo, e senza alcun piloto  
lasciato l'ho in mar a lui non noto,  
ben che sen creda esser maestro e dotto:  
onde el di sù spero veder di sotto  
del debil legno e di sanità voto;  
né avverrà, perch'ei sappia di nuoto,  
ch'e' non rimanga lì doglioso e rotto.  
Ed io, di parte eccelsa riguardando,  
ridendo, in parte piglierò ristoro  
del ricevuto scorno e dell'inganno;



e tal fiata, a lui rimproverando  
 l'avarò senno ed il beffato alloro,  
 gli crescerò e la doglia e l'affanno.<sup>108</sup>

I put the ungrateful crowd into a boat without a biscuit or a pilot and left them in a sea unknown to them, even though they think themselves learned doctors. Nor will they avoid, even if they know how to swim, remaining miserable and shipwrecked. And I, looking down from a high place, laughing, will take some refreshment from the scorn and deception I have received, and on that occasion I will reprove them for their miserly sense and the laurels they made fun of, and I will increase their misery and their trouble.

As Baldan points out, the *ingrato vulgo* of the sonnets is probably to be put into relief with Giovanni del Virgilio's epitaph for the poet, which Boccaccio reports in his *Trattatello*: 'vulgo gratissimus auctor' ('author beloved by the crowd').<sup>109</sup> In sonnet 123, *senno* ('sense' or 'wits'), although 'blinded', was ascribed to the friends who asked him to explain Dante. In sonnet 125, the *senno* has become miserly (*avarò*) and is attributed to the ungrateful crowd. Boccaccio now regrets having been the (poorly) paid intermediary between high culture – even vernacular high culture – and an uneducated class of people, among whom may even be some of his friends, merchants and people involved in the mechanical arts, activities he himself disdained. Boccaccio always claimed to have hated the profession of merchants even though it was that of his friends – friends like Coppo di Borghese, perhaps – and of his readership. The narrator in the *Corbaccio* is said to have separated himself from the 'mechanical crowd' through sacred study.<sup>110</sup>

In the *Corbaccio* Boccaccio is also sarcastic about vulgar kinds of knowledge. In one passage, the ghost of the dead husband explains that the widow can indeed be called *savissima*, as the narrator's friend had claimed, if you understand wisdom in the widest possible sense.

Some are called wise because they understand sacred scripture very well and know how to explain it to others; others because they know how to give excellent advice on civil and ecclesiastical matters, as they are educated in the law and in the decretals; still others because they are expert in the government of the republic and know how to avoid harmful things and seek useful ones, as needed; and some are held to be wise because they know how to manage their shops, and their merchandizing, and their trade and their household affairs.<sup>111</sup>

While the point of the passage will be to show how the widow was excellently wise only in what he farcically characterizes as the science,

study and school of lasciviousness, the 'wisdom' of shopkeepers and artisans and politicians – such as what could define Coppo di Borghese as *savio* in Sacchetti's tale – seems also to be part of the satire, since the narrator's studies were what set him off from the *meccanica turba* and made him disdainful of the manual arts and the vocation of merchants, which degrade rather than improve one's *senno*.

You ... never learned any manual trade and always hated the idea of being a merchant; in which fact you, by yourself and with others, often gloried, thinking of your genius, ill-suited to those things that age one greatly in years, but make one younger each day in terms of knowledge.<sup>112</sup>

Boccaccio's ambivalence towards the vernacular may also be what underlies the anonymity of his translation work. Carlo Dionisotti suggested that the fact that he seems to have kept his own *volgarizzamenti* anonymous and that they circulated less and less as they became more sophisticated and he grew more famous is a sign of his move away from vernacularization under the influence of Petrarch.<sup>113</sup> To Boccaccio have been attributed not only the third and fourth decades of Livy, but also more than one version of Valerius Maximus and the anonymous glosses to the *volgarizzamento* of Ovid's *Ars amandi* attributed to Andrea Lancia. Although some of these attributions have been undergoing reconsideration in recent years, ever more certain becomes the claim that Boccaccio's early works depend upon *volgarizzamenti* – either his own or those of others. Vincenzo Pernicone argued that Boccaccio used the *Libro della storia di Troia* for his *Filostrato*. Parodi claimed that Boccaccio got some of his expressions from *volgarizzamenti* of the *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Antonio Enzo Quaglio and Maria Teresa Casella have traced his use of translated versions of Valerius Maximus and Livy in the *Filocolo*. Maurizio Perugi has noted resemblances between glosses to a fourteenth-century manuscript of the *volgarizzamento* of Ovid's *Heroides* and mythological material in Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, *Filocolo*, *Teseida* and *rime* that suggest his intensive study of that text. Maria Gozzi shows that he may have got some of his material in the *Filostrato* from the very short *Istorietta troiana*, which is contained in the same manuscript as the *Eroidi* together with a partial copy of Andrea Lancia's *Eneide*.<sup>114</sup> But Boccaccio abandoned *volgarizzamento* later in life, even as he moved away from vernacular composition in general.

The *volgarizzamento* of the fourth decade represents both sides of the tension because it is based on the Latin text painstakingly reconstructed

by Petrarch. The philological rigour brought to bear on recovering the text of Livy, which Petrarch lamented had been dismantled and in large part lost due to the laziness of readers, is antithetical to and 'intolerant' – as Dionisotti put it – of the impulse of *volgarizzamento*. That Boccaccio would put Petrarch's labours to such a use demonstrates the gulf between the two successors to Dante before 1346.<sup>115</sup> In 1359, when Boccaccio insinuated that his revered friend, to whom he had sent a copy of the *Commedia*, refused to read that poem because of envy, Petrarch responded that, on the contrary, he pitied that poet of his father's generation, whose writings are lacerated and corrupted by the horrendous pronunciation of *ydiotas* in the taverns and the squares – the worst injury any poet could suffer.<sup>116</sup>

Sacchetti dramatizes this 'offence' to the *vulgare poeta fiorentino Dante*, as he calls him in his prologue, in two tales of the *Trecentonovelle*, one involving a donkey-driver, the other a blacksmith. In the second, shorter story, Dante comes upon an *asinaio* who sings from the 'book of Dante' as he spurs his donkey.

This donkey-driver was walking beyond his donkeys, singing the book of Dante, and when he had sung a piece, he hit the donkey and said 'Giddyup'. When Dante encountered him, he gave him a huge smack on his back, saying 'I didn't put that "giddyup" in there.'

In both stories, very rough members of the artisan class are portrayed not only as 'readers', or rather 'consumers' of the *Commedia*, but also its adapters and modifiers. Heading off after lunch to intervene for a friend in trouble with the law, the poet happens to pass a shop where the smith, between blows to his anvil, is singing the *Commedia*.

When he had dined, he goes out of his house and heads off to take care of the matter; and as he passed by the gate of San Piero, a smith beating iron on the anvil was singing Dante the way one sings a *cantare* into which he mixed his own verses, cutting and pasting, so that Dante felt he received a great injury from that fellow. He says nothing, except to approach the smithy in that place where he kept many irons with which he carried out his trade [*arte*]. Dante seizes the hammer and throws it in the street; he takes the tongs and throws them in the street; he takes the scales and throws them in the street, and in such a way he threw out a great deal of hardware.<sup>117</sup>

The smith's injury to Dante is twofold. He liberally adds and subtracts from the original text, but he also moves it into another register: that of the chivalric themes of the short narrative poems composed in this period called *cantari*.<sup>118</sup> When the *fabbro* asks what the devil he thinks he's doing, Dante returns the

question, 'Oh and what are you doing?' ('O tu che fai?') 'I'm plying my trade' ('fo l'arte mia') is the answer. Dante responds that if he objects to having the tools of his own art ruined, he should not ruin those of others. The *fabbro* is at a loss for words, goes back to work, and turns to singing of subjects more appropriate to his manner of singing, such as Tristan and Lancelot, themes from the 'matter of Britain', and left Dante alone ('e se volle cantare, cantò di Tristano e di Lancelotto e lasciò stare il Dante').<sup>119</sup>

The smith turns, that is, to lighter literature – literature associated with women – such as Dante's Francesca, who read of Lancelot to her peril, or the widow in the *Corbaccio* who spent her time particularly with the salacious parts of French romances and Italian *cantari*. The widow, first loved and then despised by a narrator that closely resembles the book's author, is in fact a de-romanticized Francesca, as scholars have noted, fully intent on imitating the adulterous liaisons she reads about.<sup>120</sup>

Her prayers and Pater Nosters are French romances and Italian poems, in which she reads of Lancelot and Guinevere and Tristan and Isolde and their valiant deeds and their loves, jousts, tournaments and assemblies; and she suffers, when she reads of how Lancelot or Tristan or another get together with their ladies in bedrooms secretly and alone, like one who seems to see what they are doing and who would willingly do as she imagines them doing. She makes sure she has not long to wish for it.<sup>121</sup>

While Dante's Francesca seems to have read of Lancelot in the original French, the widow of the *Corbaccio* was more probably reading from the vast corpus of Arthurian material that had been translated into Italian since the end of the Duecento. 'Tristano' might refer to the *Tristano Riccardiano*, a late thirteenth-century translation based in part on a French prose *Tristan* that has not survived, or to the *Tristano Panciatichiano*, the *Tavola Ritonda*, the *Tristano Riccardiano* 1729, or the *Tristano Palatino*, all from the fourteenth century.<sup>122</sup> The widow, like Coppo, is no doubt a consumer of *volgarizzamenti*. The titles we are told she reads include the particularly licentious *Canzone dello indovinello*, which closely resembles the tale of the *Decameron* where the devil is put back in Hell, and the *Libro di Fiore e Biancifiore*, which features the same protagonists of the *Filocolo*, the 'little booklet' the young Boccaccio had written at the behest of a woman to make that story 'manifest to the ignorant'.<sup>123</sup> The widow of the *Corbaccio*, Boccaccio's last vernacular work, stands in for the vulgar readership that he had first courted and later disdained.

Just as misogyny is the flipside of the idealization of women in medieval literature, so too does vulgarity underlie the noble project of

volgarizzamento.<sup>124</sup> Ladies, when admired, embody that contradiction of vulgar nobility that for Dante was the mother tongue in the *De vulgari eloquentia*. It is therefore fitting that Sacchetti's representation of vernacular reading of the classics involves an episode of women's appropriation of luxury that made ancient Rome seem so much of a piece with modern Florence. Volgarizzamento aims at appropriation. It is an attempt to make a venerable, authoritative text one's own and to render it in some way up to date, rather than to preserve or reconstruct as it was. Vernacular translation is therefore corrupting, not just in the moral sense of making salacious literature available to uneducated, vulgar or female people, but also in the textual sense of altering the way a literary work is handed down. Translation into the vernacular does not just change linguistic 'dress', as the philologists call it (*veste linguistica*); it also invites emendation, interpolation and abbreviation – from the most careful translator of Livy to the most illiterate mule-driver. If, in our post-structuralist age, works of literature in general are no longer thought of as the coherent intention of a solitary author, but rather as a collaborative, social construct, nowhere is this more evident than in the manuscript transmission of volgarizzamenti, in which virtually every subsequent copy could constitute a new version of the text. Every copyist could be a new translator, and thereby a new author, of the translated text. The vulgar tongue is ruled only by the *volgo*, only by use, by custom, that is, by fashion. It is, like fashion, the ongoing work of the amorphous, anonymous crowd into whose hands volgarizzamento puts those revered works of literature handed down in faithful transcriptions by generations of scrupulous scribes.

*The authorship of readers*

One of the troublesome things about the fortunes of literature in the vernacular, from the perspective of textual critics and jealous authors, is that it can be manipulated, masticated, copied, adapted and changed by people of different walks of life. Not just passive 'readers', Sacchetti's blacksmith and mule-driver are engaged in emending and interpolating the text. One adds a refrain of 'giddyups' and the other interlaces verses of his own making into tercets of the *Commedia*. The choice of a *fabbro* as an example of a vulgar amplifier of poetry might well depend upon Dante's own description of the Provençal poet Arnaut Daniel as the best smith of the mother tongue ('fu miglior fabbro del parlar materno').<sup>1</sup> It would seem that the *volgare* is a linguistic medium that lends itself to the hammer and anvil. The fact that the chastized *fabbro* of Sacchetti's novella moves on to the chivalric material of the *cantari*, and lets Dante be, suggests that his sort of improvisation was less offensive to that genre than to a work of the poetic pretensions of the *Commedia*.

The texts we have of the *cantari* are thought to be relatively late written records of storytelling songs that had long circulated orally. Because Carolingian and Arthurian stories came from France, singers of *cantari* were often translators as well as improvisational poets. We have an early portrait of a *cantare* performance in a letter written in Latin by the very early humanist Lovato dei Lovati. In this mocking account of a performance Lovato witnessed in Treviso, the singer is either singing in badly pronounced French to an audience not of that tongue, or he has already converted the original language of the material into some other Italian idiom.

I was walking by chance through the city irrigated by springs that takes its name from the three neighbourhoods [*Treviso*], killing time with small steps, when on a high stage I see a singer shouting about the army of Charles and the deeds of the French. The little people hang around him with ears erect; their Orpheus attracts them. Silently I listen: he deforms here and there with his barbaric mouth the

poems composed in the language of the Franks, with no plot, freely bending it to his whim. Nonetheless, the people liked those things.<sup>2</sup>

Even when they began to be transcribed, copies of individual *cantari* differ one from the other to such an extent that Domenico De Robertis says that they should be considered independent versions, substitutes or 'conversions', rather than descendants of the same exemplar.<sup>3</sup>

*Cantari* are an extreme example of the unfixed nature of medieval literature in general. To some extent, re-elaboration was standard practice in all medieval literary forms, since all writing was thought of as a kind of rewriting. Historians were but compilers. Even the incomparable Virgil was essentially a rewriter of the *Iliad*. Latin composition was learned by daily imitation, by paraphrasing or producing a new version of an old text. Following Horace's advice in the *Art of Poetry*, a writer should try to be an unfaithful, rather than a faithful translator (*fidus interpres*) of pre-existing literature.<sup>4</sup> As Francesco Bruni observes, in this environment of literary practice, the distinction between original works and translation loses its force.<sup>5</sup> Translations departed freely from originals both in additions and subtractions; original works copied material pre-packaged by other works. In his oft-quoted description of the four ways people can make books, Bonaventure defines as 'author' not someone who writes his own material, but only someone whose own words predominate over those of others.

There are four ways of making a book. For someone writes out the words of other men without adding or changing anything, and he is called the scribe [*scriptor*] pure and simple. Someone else writes the words of other men, putting together material, but not his own, and he is called the compiler [*compilator*]. Someone else writes the words of other men and also his own, but with those of other men comprising the principal part while his own are annexed merely to make clear the argument, and he is called the commentator [*commentator*], not the author. Someone else writes the words of other men and also of his own, but with his own forming the principal part and those of others being annexed merely by way of confirmation, and such a person should be called the author [*auctor*].<sup>6</sup>

Although all writing is rewriting, the scribe is nonetheless on the other end of the spectrum from the author. The scribe is supposed to copy only what is already there, whether or not he understands it, making no accommodation or adaptation ('adding or changing nothing') – at least not intentionally.

Scribes of course do introduce new elements to the works they are transcribing. Petrarch was aware of the corruption inherent in the

transmission of texts, even Latin ones, even his own. He had had the unwelcome experience of seeing a part of his unfinished Latin poem, which he had lent to a friend on condition he keep it to himself, circulate out of his control. As a result, the 'Lament of Mago' exists in a number of redactions in a manuscript tradition independent of the rest of the *Africa*.<sup>7</sup> In a letter to Boccaccio, thanking him for the gift of a particularly big book (Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos*), he complains of the 'disdainful ignorance' of readers that had caused that immense book of Livy's Roman histories to be dismembered into what they call 'decades', a nickname given not by the author (*ipse qui scripsit*) but by his unworthy readers (*legendium*).<sup>8</sup> If Boccaccio is the author of the Tuscan fourth decade, this letter was addressed to someone guilty of re-dismembering the very text that Petrarch had laboriously sewn back together, of departing not once but many times from the exact words of the author, and, through vernacularization, of betraying this venerable authority to even more ignorant and less well-prepared readers, wholly innocent of Latin.

Although for such efforts to recover ancient texts Petrarch is considered the father of philology, versions made by 'ignorant' scribes are far more useful to the modern textual editor than those emendated by humanists emboldened by their own dexterity in Latin. Whether out of ignorance or reverence, the consistency with which scribes copied texts verbatim, passing on errors exactly as they had found them, is at the basis of reconstructing ancient texts based on these errors. Errors – more neutrally called 'variants' – are what philologists use to determine the genealogical relationship of the witnesses to a text and, ultimately, an archetype, which is the hypothetical copy from which all extant copies can be shown to have descended. Variants are rungs of a documentary ladder that leads back up, as far as one can go, in the direction of the intention of an author.

The basic idea of what is sometimes called 'Lachmannian stemmatics' (after the German philologist Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) who reconstructed Lucretius' *De rerum natura* on the basis of this principle) is that a manuscript witness that contains all the same errors as another and at least one additional error can be considered a later descendant and be placed lower down on the genealogical tree, or chart, of the text's descent towards us, called a 'stemma'. (If it contains no additional significant errors, it can be eliminated from the construction of the stemma – *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*.) This stemma of descent, or map of the tradition, is that ladder leading back up towards some elusive authorial intent. The ambition of textual criticism is ultimately to erase features



introduced by scribes and 'reverse the process of transmission' to retrieve the text as it was before it was compromised (as well as preserved) by being copied.<sup>9</sup>

The method works best with ancient works associated with a venerable author, whose extant manuscript tradition is small and separated from the moment of original composition by centuries. It works notoriously less well with popular and particularly with anonymous vernacular works. Vernacular compositions naturally become public domain in a way that Latin ones do not. They are subject to oral deformation in the taverns and squares of the sort that horrified Sacchetti's Dante, Petrarch and Lovato, but also to greater variance in their transcription. If the copyist of an ancient text in a language he does not speak might be expected to behave in the mode of the slightly defective photocopy machines that medieval scriptoria were once thought to be, the vernacular scribe is far more likely to intervene, particularly in popular and anonymous works, and even more so in translations.<sup>10</sup> Whereas fidelity may be the scribe's supreme duty when handing down an authoritative text written in Latin, in copying a modern text – especially a modern translation into a language of which he is after all an authority – the scribe might well feel called upon to improve upon it: to find better solutions, to repair his predecessor's errors of translation or transcription, to attach it to other, relevant texts, and to gear it towards a new audience.

The difficulties inherent in editing Old French texts, in particular the impossibility of impartial or 'mechanical' judgement of errors, led Joseph Bédier to repudiate the Lachmannian method in 1928 in favour of choosing one single 'best' manuscript (*codex optimus*) on which to base a modern edition. This manuscript would have an authenticity that the text reconstructed by philologists would never have, since theirs had never existed in reality.<sup>11</sup> Yet the irreducible downfall of Bédier's surrender to the single manuscript is that it meant publishing texts that in many places were the work of scribes, not of authors.

Since then, literary scholars, especially in France, have explored these stumbling blocks to textual editing as what makes medieval vernacular literature alive, active and mobile. Paul Zumthor coined the term *mouvance* to describe the inherently labile state of Old French texts, most especially those unassociated with the name of an author.<sup>12</sup> While Zumthor believed that this instability stemmed from habits of oral culture with which medieval literature was still very much engaged, Bernard Cerquiglini placed it squarely within the activity of writing itself. In his 'encomium of the variant', Cerquiglini celebrated rather than bemoaned

the fact that each manuscript witness might be considered a new version or adaptation, a text unto itself, and each scribe to some degree an author. Variance, he observes, is not the exception in medieval literature but its basic condition. Because of this awareness of scribal intervention in medieval vernacular texts, it becomes less possible to keep completely separate the transcendent, unique, genius-author on the one hand, and the multiple, diverse, ignorant, banalizing scribes on the other.<sup>13</sup> What might look like scribal errors might actually be deliberate scribal interventions that should not necessarily be condemned as an act of barbarity or violence, as Sacchetti, Petrarch and Lovato, suggest – but rather an expression of ‘one’s admiration for a great poem’, as Annie Triaud has put it, or indeed as participation in authorship.<sup>14</sup> The *Roman de la Rose* is a notorious example of a text in constant revision by its copyists. Sylvia Huot thinks it fair to attribute to each version of the poem ‘its own integrity as a literary text’ and to those who produced such versions the status of co-poet or co-author, together with Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun.<sup>15</sup> Fabian Alfie has described the genre of the Italian sonnet as an ‘unsteady ground’ where ‘author, scribe, editor, and redactor all blend into one another and cannot be completely distinguished’.<sup>16</sup>

As Justin Steinberg points out, renewed emphasis on manuscripts associated with the New Philology tends to privilege a ‘single codicological event’ over the claimed reconstruction of a ‘nonexistent, original author’s text’, but in doing so reproduces a kind of formalism, reducing the meaning of a text to its single instantiation ‘between the covers of the book’ rather than in the complex and varied context of history.<sup>17</sup> The Italian *nuova filologia* charts historical change in the manuscript transmission, giving life in fact to a whole range of agents who did not physically write the extant manuscripts, but whose interventions in lost manuscripts can be deduced by evidence in the surviving witnesses. Volgarizzamenti are a supreme challenge to this *nuova filologia* which, even when it has not produced critical editions, has opened up vistas on to the transmission of texts and the peculiarities in the transmission of translations.<sup>18</sup>

The recent trend of elevating scribes to the level of authors questions the goal of traditional textual editing to recover a single, original voice and prohibits the discrimination between ‘original’ elements of a text and those added later in the course of its life. The text is produced by a series of agents, rather than created *ex nihilo* or in a vacuum by a single mind. On the other hand, as opponents of this trend have objected, it is one thing to equate anonymous authors and anonymous scribes of popular vernacular works, especially those that lend themselves to continuing

elaboration and compilation in the process of their transmission; it is quite another to give the same weight to readings attributable to a major author – like Chaucer or Dante – and one introduced by his copyists. As Lee Patterson expressed it:

The scribes are many, the poet unique; the scribes write the language of common men, the poet composes a language of his own. The poet traces no conventional path but works out for himself the way of genius, and it is the task of his editors to rediscover that way from among the ruins of the manuscripts.<sup>19</sup>

The author of a *volgarizzamento* is likely to be no poet, but nor is he just a scribe. His task, which is by no means mechanical and to be really successful requires no little genius, is to transfer the language of the poet, or the *auctor*, into the language of common men. And since this language has limited geographical reach and no guarantee of continuity over time, it is something that has to be found again and again by each agent of transmission of the translated text. The scribes of translated texts participate necessarily in their authorship. To return to the kinds of writers listed by Bonaventure, the *volgarizzatore* is both like a scribe who should faithfully transmit what someone else says and like an author, who uses mostly his own words. Moreover, the scribe of a pre-existing *volgarizzamento* participates in its authorship in a more fundamental way than the scribe of a work whose fundamental purpose is not its linguistic modernization.

*Volgarizzamento* lends itself to *mouvance* by its very nature, by its goal of bringing something relatively fixed (a text ultimately by an authority) into something that is still extremely mobile: the non-standardized, non-literary target language. This does not mean that the concept of authorship does not matter. It matters very much to the success of *volgarizzamenti* that they be attached to an *auctor*. Translations often interject phrases such as ‘dice Lucano’, or ‘Livio dice’; even if the author of the *volgarizzamento* itself remains anonymous.

If disenchantment with the Lachmannian method in France was provoked by the attributes of popular literature in Old French (anonymity, rapid diffusion, oral tradition, changing audience or context of rewriting), the persistence of the Lachmannian method in Italy has also to do with the peculiarities of the history of Italian literature. Dante and Petrarch especially took an extreme interest in their own status as authors on the level of the ancient ones they emulated and often aimed to rival. Already with Boccaccio and Petrarch, as we noted in the ‘Lament of Mago’, we have a manuscript tradition of their works produced in their own lifetime,

in which they often had a hand, full of variants attributable to the authors themselves, not just their scribes. The phenomenon of authorial variants, which had a fundamental role in the formation of the Italian new philology, was enunciated by Giorgio Pasquali in a 1929 review of Paul Maas's *Textkritik*, where he laid out the difference between mechanical and non-mechanical transmission.<sup>20</sup>

In describing the *nuova filologia* in the introduction to his essays on texts ranging from Dante's *Vita nova* to Manzoni's *Promessi sposi*, Michele Barbi acknowledged that the task of establishing a text was rendered arduous in a context where there was no notion of literary property nor scruple to transcribe faithfully things for one's own use. Transcribers abbreviate, add to, contaminate and adapt a text to the linguistic usage of the time or place where they live. Yet he believed these complications argued all the more strongly for the use of rational philological tools.<sup>21</sup> The method of recension and collation of witnesses, even if it may never really succeed in bringing us the 'original intention' of an author, makes it possible to glimpse the life of the text over time, a history of its tradition that makes evident literary interests and activity in a certain place and particular moment and in different places at different moments. As Mary and Richard Rouse put it, the 'skeleton' of the *stemma codicum* can be clothed with the historical flesh of the different kinds of individuals, institutions and historical contexts that produced them.<sup>22</sup> Never having given up the basic principles of the Lachmannian method, Italian philologists have become ever more creative not only in dealing with its inadequacies but in bringing into focus the story told by variants that in the past would have served simply to defenestrate witnesses from the construction of a stemma. This is especially the case with the study and editing of *volgarizzamenti* which present challenges beyond those of medieval vernacular literature in general.

The first of these further difficulties is in the recension of the manuscripts. Because they circulated without titles, anonymously, under various names and bound together with other texts in vernacular miscellanies, *volgarizzamenti* are not always readily identified in library catalogues. As a result, more manuscripts continue to turn up. Cesare Segre used eight manuscripts for his 1968 edition of Bono Giamboni's *Libro de' vizî e delle virtùdi*, and now there are twelve known. Alfonso D'Agostino used twenty-seven manuscripts for his 1979 edition of the *Fiori di filosofia*, of which only nine were known hitherto, and of which eight more have been found since.<sup>23</sup> Francesco Maggini used six manuscripts for his 1915 edition of Brunetto Latini's *Rettorica*, but three more have been uncovered since.

Examples of multiple titles are the *Conti morali senesi* and the various versions of the *Tristan* story. The *Fiori di filosofia*, a collection of tales largely translated from Latin works by French writers, appears with the Latin title *Liber filosoforum* in a miscellaneous manuscript containing some of Dante's poems, a lapidary, an explanation of dreams and Solomon's proverbs.<sup>24</sup>

There are, moreover, *volgarizzamenti* within *volgarizzamenti*. For example, extracts of one of the very earliest translations in an Italian idiom, the *Storie de Troia e de Roma*, a version done in Rome in the 1250s of a twelfth-century compilation of various authors (Isidore, Dares, Paul the Deacon) were interspersed in the *Tesoro*.<sup>25</sup> Taddeo Alderotti's vernacular version of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* was inserted whole into the *Tesoro*, a short-cut which made sense especially since Brunetto had used the same compendium of the *Ethics*, translating it either from Latin or from Alderotti's vernacularization, when he wrote his French encyclopedia.<sup>26</sup> One of the five Italian translations of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* in the *Tesoro* is taken from the French version (*Livre dou gouvernement des rois*) that had been inserted into the *Tresor*.<sup>27</sup> Brunetto also made use of a Latin compilation of proverbs called the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, which exists in five different Tuscan translations, all made from the French (*Moralités des philosophes*) at least two of which appear to date to the thirteenth century. As in the case of Alderotti's *Etica*, some Tuscan versions of the *Tesoro* simply replace the seventh book with this *volgarizzamento*, known as the *Libro di costumanza* or *Trattato di virtù morali*. The reverse happens with a treatise known as *Quattro virtù morali*, a *volgarizzamento* of the *Formula honeste vite* or *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus* by the sixth-century archbishop, Martin of Braga, but sometimes attributed to Seneca. The *Quattro virtù morali* is in fact just an extract from the *Tesoro* that had an independent circulation.<sup>28</sup> Yet witnesses of the *Tesoro* continue to emerge because other manuscripts have been found to contain fragments of it compiled with other texts.<sup>29</sup>

The second major difficulty is our uncertainty as to what exactly the *volgarizzatore* is trying to translate. A *volgarizzamento* is a version in another language of some pre-existing text available in a version not necessarily still available to us. Unlike modern translations, which usually work from a single printed edition of an original work, medieval translations are made from unknown versions of other texts – versions which may or may not have even survived and in any case differ not only from modern critical editions but from other witnesses of that same work. That

is to say, it is not always possible to establish what exactly the author (i.e. translator) was trying to translate because we do not know what kind of copy of the original text he was following. In the absence of the model, it is difficult to judge the quality of the version. Sometimes it is clear that an error was present in the exemplar. For example, in his translation of Cicero's oration *Pro Deiotaro*, the phrase 'cum is unus esset qui posset de absente se indicare' ('when he alone it was who could indicate him while absent') becomes 'il quale solo potea del re Deiotaro, eziandio assente, *prendere vendetta* al suo piacere' ('who alone could *take revenge* on king Deiotarus at his pleasure'). To 'indicate' has become to 'vindicate', because *vindicare* was probably written in the manuscript Brunetto was using in place of *indicare*.<sup>30</sup>

If a *volgarizzatore* was using a corrupt copy unknown to us, his very fidelity to the text might look like an error of translation (this seems to be the case with the Tuscan version of Cicero's fourth Catilinarian oration, as we shall see below). But he might also be tempted to correct in his translation an error he perceived in his copy of the original, that is to emend it, or indeed to consult other copies of the same text, or other translations of it, thereby bringing about what the philologists call contamination. Since copies of *volgarizzamenti* that build and improve upon the source text can easily develop into distinct translations, manuscripts previously thought to represent a single translation have subsequently been grouped into a series of different versions and sub-versions. For example, there are seven distinct redactions of the *Fatti dei Romani* or *Fatti di Cesare*, as it is sometimes called: a long, a short, and an intermediate (and partly re-worked) version, a contamination of the short with the intermediate one (*Cesariano*), a contamination of the *Cesariano* with one group of the short version, another version translated directly from the French and independent of all the others, and finally a fragment (one and a quarter folios) also faithful, so far as it goes, to the French version. All of the witnesses of the long version have been independently contaminated with the short version, and some manuscripts of the short version show traces of contamination with the long version.<sup>31</sup>

There are the four different redactions of the *Fiore di rettorica*, the translation and adaptation of the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* also made probably in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Two are anonymous, one is attributed to Bono Giamboni, and a fourth to Guidotto da Bologna, whose apparent dedication of the work to Manfred Lancia, King of Sicily, traditionally privileged it as the oldest version. Giambattista Speroni argues that the oldest version is one of the two

anonymous ones, and that it is actually an earlier version, or a first draft, by Giamboni himself. The so-called Guidottian version, which in any case has been reclothed in Tuscan linguistic dress, was actually made by using parts of at least two and perhaps all three previous versions – that is, by contamination.<sup>32</sup>

Contamination is the simultaneous presence of more than one exemplar in an individual copy of a text. Horizontal ‘cross-fertilization’ of the lines of descent (which Paul Maas compared to the confusion provoked by introducing female descent in family trees) is the Achilles heel of the Lachmannian method.<sup>33</sup> The phenomenon can occur when a scribe knows the text well and has a different version of it in his memory, or when he consults another written copy (some call this, more specifically, ‘conflation’). This happens not necessarily because the scribe is being sloppy, but because he is attempting to be scrupulously faithful, by using as many resources as he has available to give the fullest rendition of the text. It would be foolish from the scribe’s point of view not to take into consideration any other version of the source text to which he might have access. Contamination happens more frequently the more popular a text is and the more manuscripts and versions of it there are in circulation.<sup>34</sup> In the transmission of medieval texts, contamination was most likely in a scriptorium where works were available in more than one copy, and where sometimes scribes kept track of the differences between witnesses in an *editio variorum*.<sup>35</sup> *Volgarizzamenti* were produced and diffused in a different, non-clerical and non-institutional environment, among individuals who shared books, made or commissioned translations, copied them out for their own use and passed literature around. Some of these people, who knew the original languages, were translators; some of them were but scribes. Both would be concerned with getting the text right and making sense of it, and both could therefore resort to contamination. In making a translation, or even copying one, the most natural thing in the world would be to seek out other versions with which to make comparisons and, eventually, improvements. Contamination is a symptom of fidelity, not innovation, and it is an important tool of translation and of the transcription of translation.

A fourth problem of textual editors that has particular relevance to *volgarizzamenti* is that of linguistic form – regional variations of spelling, pronunciation, morphology. These are called ‘formal’ variants, to distinguish them from ‘substantial’ ones on the basis of which a tradition can be mapped, and in that sense they are inconsequential. They occur because of the instability of the vernacular in this period. Even a faithful scribe would tend to adapt the language of the text which is, after all,

*volgare*, to his own idiom. This alteration of 'linguistic dress' is so basic to the behaviour of copyists of vernacular literature that it usually does not register as a scribal intervention, much less as translation. Each scribe might 'correct' the text according to the language he knows, without altering its substance. Or subsequent scribes might faithfully transmit a text, whose linguistic form was already adapted to the dialect of some prior scribe earlier on in the tradition. We possess extremely little poetry of the Sicilian school still in the language in which it was composed, because it was almost entirely preserved in three important manuscripts by Tuscan copyists, who summarily Tuscanized this whole lyric tradition. Two of the oldest Italian *volgarizzamenti*, the *Storie de Troia e de Roma* and *Miracole de Roma*, were composed in Roman dialect. Yet only one manuscript transmits them both in their unmodified original linguistic form. Of the three other witnesses of the *Storie* (there are none of the *Miracole*), another has already lessened the original Roman patina, and the third and fourth (now lost but recorded in a seventeenth-century study) are 'ostentatiously Tuscanized'.<sup>36</sup> Even Dante's *Commedia* has been transmitted to us with a multitude of regionalisms, among which it is often difficult to determine which, if any, were intended by the author, and which were introduced by the scribes. On the one hand, one hesitates to make Dante speak Bolognese; on the other, even the Florentine manuscripts of the *Commedia* (such as the Trivulziano) transmit Paduan words, suggesting they may have been Dante's choice. By the same token, other scribes could intervene, always in the spirit of fidelity, to correct regionalisms they found in the copy they were transcribing.<sup>37</sup>

The instability of linguistic form suggests that scribes were constantly engaged in subtle, perhaps even unconscious, acts of translation even when they thought they were simply transcribing. The scribe of a translation becomes himself a translator when, instead of reproducing exactly something that either does not make sense or does not seem sufficiently elegant or idiomatic in his own language, he alters the text in a way that, to his mind at least, renders it more comprehensible and less foreign. For example, in some manuscripts of Brunetto Latini's translation of Cicero's orations, *Gaius* has become *Guido* and *Publius*, *Pietro*. Maggini wants to attribute such unsophisticated redressing (*grossolano travestimento*) not to Brunetto himself, but to some lax scribe who thought he was explaining things better.<sup>38</sup> Yet in the context of *volgarizzamento*, such modernizing interventions on the part of the scribe arguably perfect the project of translation, which is after all the immediate purpose of the text he is copying.



The reason the change of linguistic dress is not usually classified as translation or *volgarizzamento* is that it is so very typical of copyists of romance literary works in general to update and adapt the language of the author to their own parlance.<sup>39</sup> Yet while the scribes of all vernacular texts will naturally tend to adapt the language of the text they are transcribing to the idiom of their own place and time, *volgarizzamenti* have that adaptation as their principal goal. The scribe is therefore not simply permitted, but is rather in a sense, *obliged* by the genre of the text he is transcribing, to complete the ever perfectible task of translation – to render it ever more comprehensible, local, vernacular.

As we have seen, re-elaboration is standard practice in the Middle Ages, particularly in the transmission of vernacular literature, and even more particularly in the popularizing genre of compilations, adaptations, and remakes of which medieval translation is a part. Yet the inevitability of altered linguistic dress suggests that, even in ultimately quite faithful transcriptions of translations, the scribe intervenes regularly in the operation of translation itself, and hence shares quite legitimately in the authorship of the *volgarizzamento*. Copyists of translations have even less reverence for the letter of the translated text they are copying than they would for the original, since it is only a solution advanced by some predecessor of theirs, someone of their ilk. The author of the translation being copied was not an *auctor*, after all, but on the contrary had essentially the same status, the same authority and the same task as the person copying it out. Indeed sometimes it was the same person, who had now changed his mind – producing an authorial variant.

Variants that in the transmission of original texts would be called scribal errors in *volgarizzamenti* might well be scribal improvements. The transcriber of a *volgarizzamento* might indeed have a better understanding of the past or a better mastery of language being translated than did the author of the translation whose work he is transcribing. He might, moreover, possess a better copy of the text that was being translated, or another translation either in his own or another language that could influence and contaminate his own rendition. A site of reworking, *volgarizzamenti* are thus particularly thorny for textual editing, but eloquent with regard to the initiatives of scribes – the anonymous translator-author-editor-compiler-transcribers who were not just copying literature, but *reading* it.

These additional challenges that *volgarizzamenti* present to textual editors (recension of manuscripts, uncertainty of source texts, emendation and contamination, constant updating of linguistic form) are reasons

many volgarizzamenti are still unavailable in reliable, modern editions. Philological work done in the direction of producing such critical editions, however, has helped to trace shadowy profiles of these multiple agents involved in the production and dissemination of a translation and, ultimately, of a distant and foreign culture, to their local place and time. The study of the manuscript tradition of volgarizzamenti gives a window onto a world of readers, on people trying to make sense of the past with whatever tools they had available.

#### 'FIORE DI RETTORICA'

The first things that unlettered Italians wanted to read were rhetorical works and Roman history, with special attention, as we shall see, to speeches recorded in those histories. These were preferences motivated no doubt by the need for letter-writing and public harangue in communal Italian society and the consequent relatively high rate of literacy not just in the notarial class, but also at the level of merchants and bankers, whose scrupulous record-keeping made the written word as essential as the spoken.<sup>40</sup> Brunetto Latini argued in both his translation of Cicero's *De inventione* (*La rettorica*) and the *Tresor* for the supreme necessity and utility of rhetoric, especially in the communal forms of government found in Italy. Virginia Cox has recently pointed out that one of the main differences between the reception of Ciceronian rhetorical works in Italy and in France was its strong presence in the former's vernacular.<sup>41</sup>

The earliest vernacular translation of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is the *Fiore di rettorica*, now attributed to the Florentine judge and prolific translator, Bono Giamboni, cited as the author in some witnesses, not to the shadowy friar Guidotto da Bologna, to whom it is attributed in others. It dates from around the late 1260s. According to Giambattista Speroni, the multiplicity of versions of the *Fiore di rettorica* does not just arise from energetic copyists and adaptors but originates with the author himself, who was already changing his mind about how to reorder the text yet again before he had finished his first draft. For example, what Speroni identifies as the first version ( $\alpha$ ) does not translate the sections on memory in the *Ad Herennium*. The second version ( $\beta$ ), which Speroni argues should also be attributed to Giamboni, promises but does not deliver a section on memory. Later Giamboni (or someone else) did produce a translation of it that got tacked onto the end of only some manuscripts as a *Trattato della memoria* and circulated independently, attached to other works such as Bartolomeo da San Concordio's *Ammaestramenti degli antichi*.

In the renditions of the independently circulating *Trattato della memoria*, we can easily see some of the difficulties that might have discouraged its translation. How is the name *Domizio* supposed to help us remember *a casa*? In the famous memory image where the murder victim is to be pictured as a sick man in bed and the accused as a doctor attending to him holding ram's testicles, what do *coglioni* have to do with witnesses?

In the first place, we will make an image of all of this, putting a sick man lying in bed . . . and we will put the accused at his bed, holding a drink in his right hand, and in his left a tablet, and the doctor the ram's testicles [*coglioni del becco*]. In this way we will be able to have a memory of the witnesses [*testimoni*], of the inheritance, and of the person who is dead.<sup>42</sup>

At some point, as we can see in the version appended to the *Ammaestramenti*, someone intervened to change *coglioni* to *testicoli*, thereby restoring the verbal resemblance to *testimoni*.

The problem of *Domizio* and *casa* causes a redactor of this version to acknowledge that it is not the best account of *Tullio* and refers the reader not back to the original but to a recent Latin commentary that 'puts these things better'. That is none of his concern, the redactor goes on to say, because in 'this writing' is only what is in the 'pure text'.

In the first place we must put *Domizio* raising his hands to heaven (but Bartolinus, who wrote on Cicero, puts these things better), but I do not bother about that, because in this writing [*questo scritto*] it is only as it is in the pure text [*testo puro*].<sup>43</sup>

With the distinction of *questo scritto* and *testo puro*, the redactor is either saying that he is only copying what he sees (his own writing must reproduce the pure text) or that the translation he is copying does not contain a commentary, only the text. Confusion in the vernacular translation both in his own rendition and in his exemplar is a defect to be remedied with recourse not to the Ciceronian original but to a contemporary Latin commentary.<sup>44</sup> Reading is best done with an apparatus. Later he will point out that the translation (*questo scritto*) is actually harder to understand than the original, but that the former can help someone to understand the latter if he puts the two together.<sup>45</sup>

Someone else tried to fix the lacuna of memory by translating it himself and putting it the proper place, but at the end he gave up, leaving the lettered to go back to Cicero and the unlettered to whatever capacity for memorization they were given by nature:

And because telling how said places should be found, and how said images should be found, and how they should be, and how many, and in what order, and how said images should be lodged in said places, so that that they can give true and firm memory of the things for which they are imagined because of their resemblance, whence one should remember – is material of such subtlety that it could not be translated into the vernacular in such a way that could give perfect understanding to lay people. So I will be silent in translating any more of this material. And those who know Latin [*letterati*], if they want to know about this artificial memory, let them read in Tully's Rhetoric, where they will find it fully treated; and let those who are unlettered [*laici*] hold things in their minds the best they can, according how it is given to them by nature.<sup>46</sup>

Another redactor, who was copying primarily from a version of the *Fiore di rettorica* attributed in the manuscripts to Fra' Guidotto da Bologna, feels called upon elaborately to justify his elimination of a perceived redundancy in the structure of the work. That version ( $\delta$ ) is actually a contamination of at least two prior versions ( $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ ) filled out in places with new material covering perceived lacunae, producing in effect the redundancy observed by this redactor, who was moreover collating it with the first version ( $\alpha$ ).

There follows in the book of Friar Guidotto yet again doctrine on the six parts of speech, that is on the proem, narration, division, confirmation, response and conclusion. But I the writer, having examined and clearly seen that before the treatise on the ornament of speech he wrote that treatise, and that between this treatise and that one there is no difference either in words or in effect, I will thus leave it out, and I will pass on to the third treatise of the book; but anyone who wants it the way the friar wrote it I neither blame nor praise.

The 'writer' anticipates that some pedantic priest, 'maestro Mella', will find fault with this departure from the text, a fault perhaps attributable to the 'writer', that is, the copyist, rather than to the friar. The copyist denies the charge and suggests that the friar was perhaps drunk, or simply did not know what he was doing, because there was no need to put that part in there twice: 'Why he did it, I do not know'.

Both the writer and his imagined critic invoke their (differing) memory of the ultimate authority, Cicero, the order of whose text seems to be subject to debate, but do not seem tempted to go back to consult it. Indeed the writer makes a snide comment about how priests like maestro Mella and his ilk do not really read books:

If you don't let me be, I will say the worst that I can, that is, that neither you nor the other priests ever read a book except as a child of six who goes over his abc's and his *Deus in nomine*.<sup>47</sup>

The writer, who is no less and no more an author than the friar, and vaunts himself a better reader than either his source or his audience, bases his editorial decision not on direct recourse to the Latin source, but on a close reading of the vernacular exemplar at hand. Even so, however arrogant he may be, contrary to the modest and humble persona adopted by many translators, this writer still does not propose that his text, with its polemical improvements, can stand in for the original text.

A subsequent mid-fourteenth-century translation of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, known by its opening words, *Avengnia Dio*, also drew on the *Fiore di rettorica* even though it was based directly on the Latin text. Its author compares his translation to coarse bread and brackish waters and, like the original author of the *Fiore*, advises his reader to consult other experts rather than to rely solely on him. He admits that he, too, was tempted to leave out the section on mnemonics because of its difficulty, and that he went ahead only in the expectation of correction by other minds 'capable of penetrating this doctrine more acutely than my pen has been capable of expressing it'.<sup>48</sup>

#### 'FATTI DEI ROMANI'

The copyist of the oldest extant manuscript of what sometimes goes by the name of *Fatti dei Romani*, the Italian translation of a French translation-compilation of Sallust, Caesar, Suetonius and Lucan, displays even greater initiative than the scribe-redactors of the *Fiore*, with even less erudition. Lapo di Neri Corsini was not a professional scribe, but someone with interests and initiatives of his own, transcribing ultimately for himself. His father was the founder of the Corsini fortunes, active in the silk guild and the Florentine government from about 1277 to 1315. Lapo himself was consul of the Arte della Lana in 1320.<sup>49</sup> While Neri was serving as prior of the commune or as consul to the guild and tending to his large and prosperous textile business, his son, Lapo, was reading and transcribing *volgarizzamenti*. We know his identity thanks to the sleuthing of the nineteenth-century librarian of the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Salomone Morpurgo, who compared the handwriting with another manuscript of *volgarizzamenti* in the Laurentian library to which Lapo signed his name.<sup>50</sup>

The Riccardiano *Fatti dei Romani* is the second half of a manuscript whose first half has ended up at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.<sup>51</sup> Though unsigned, the copyist wrote down the date of his transcription (1313). He does not know Latin, nor even much French, and he is literate only in the

sense that he reads and writes in the vernacular (technically, an 'idiot').<sup>52</sup> He fits Armando Petrucci's description of the literate person in this 'new, mercantile, urban, communal society' who was 'free to write apart from any precise social function or constricting juridical obligations', who wrote simply because he was able to do so, and who wrote in the vernacular and in cursive, rather than in Latin and in the scripts that belonged to books as did the medieval 'worker-scribe'.<sup>53</sup> With the resources he had at his disposal, this scribe was moreover engaged in processes of editing and collation that are usually associated with the activities of the humanists.

Like all the surviving witnesses of the so-called 'long' version of the *Fatti*, Lapo's manuscript is contaminated with the much more widely circulating *versio brevis*. This contamination resulted from copyists either remembering the short version or consulting it as a check on the long one they were transcribing. Lapo moreover interpolates into the text of the translation he is copying another, very recent translation of Sallust's *Jugurtha* by Bartolomeo da San Concordio, thereby creating a huge redundancy in the narrative in order, he says, to tell the story in order (*per ordine*).<sup>54</sup> At another point he merges the text of the *Fatti* with Bartolomeo's translation of Sallust's *Catiline*, together with elements from the shorter version of the *Fatti*, attempting to stitch it all together with some words of his own. This contamination and corruption of the text is motivated by a desire to take account of all available translations, as if reduplication rather than selection would get him closer to the truth.<sup>55</sup>

Later on he again interrupts the text to insert yet another translation, this time of Cicero's first Catilinarian oration, which Lapo explains as the rectification of an omission on the part of Sallust who 'did not love' Cicero.

Said Marcus Tullius Cicero made a very fine speech and very useful to the republic, which he then shaped and put into writing, at which everyone marvelled. Sallust did not put this speech into his book, because he did not love Marcus Tullius Cicero. And therefore we will put said speech in here, the way Marcus Tullius said and spoke against Catiline in front of the senate and many other people who had gathered there.<sup>56</sup>

Lapo's comment portrays Sallust as a kind of compiler of different materials and Cicero as scribe of his own works. Lapo sees himself as emending the text, rather than adding to it, correcting an unjust lacuna with a *vulgarizzamento* of the famous first Catilinarian oration (*Quousque tandem*) that he happened to have available. He is copying here from

a volgarizzamento that was itself in large part a copy of another contemporary volgarizzamento traditionally attributed to Brunetto Latini, and which is thus itself an example of contamination taken to such an extreme that it becomes a faithful copy of another translation rather than a new one.<sup>57</sup>

When he gets to Caesar's speech, he first transcribes it from Bartolomeo's version of Sallust (*Catilinaria*) and then adds another, briefer version because, he says, 'in these times brief speeches are thought more beautiful than ones that contain many words'. With this excuse of brevity, he then transcribes the speech the way 'Master Brunetto Latini translated it from grammar to the *volgare*' together with Brunetto's rhetorical analysis of the speech: 'chome Ciesare parlò secondo rettoricha nella dicieria'.<sup>58</sup> It is rather amusing that, in the middle of such an enormous book, which transmits the longest extant version of the *Fatti* and to which the copyist is moreover adding redundant material, he claims to do so because of a lamentable preference in his own day for short sayings. But this also suggests the coexistence of unwieldy accretions resulting from transcriptions made by reader-writers like Lapo and the demand for short memorizable tidbits extracted from encyclopedic collections in the vernacular. Lapo's intense interest in speech-making is peculiar to the Florentine communal context in which he operated during his 'day job' as a wealthy and well-established cloth merchant.<sup>59</sup>

This second version of Caesar's speech is not, as Lapo thinks, something Brunetto Latini translated from Latin into Italian; rather, it is a passage from the *Tesoro* (the Italian version of Latini's French original *Tresor*), which Lapo may have found already extracted in a collection of *dicierie*.<sup>60</sup> Lapo puts the extract from the *Tesoro* in the place where the speech occurs in the *Fatti*, by way of replacement (or supplement). Yet ironically, even as the scribe is calling attention to his use of sources other than the *Fatti*, this is precisely that part of the *Tresor* that Brunetto took from the French *Fait des Romains*. In other words, the scribe supplements the text with what he does not realize (or does not mind) is simply another mediated version of the same text.

The impression one gets from what we now know about Lapo's manuscript is of someone who did not want to leave anything out, in other words to forget something that might be remembered by his copying it down. In fact for several elements (such as the Sallust portion of the long version of the *Fatti* and the volgarizzamento of the fourth Catilinarian oration), he is our sole witness. But his manuscript does not just tell us about him; it is also a material witness to the gradual

Italianicization of the French text through the subtle interventions of numerous copyists who preceded him.

Like all *volgarizzamenti* of French intermediaries, all versions of the *Fatti dei Romani* are full of Gallicisms, that is, words that are just barely translated or left untranslated from French. David Bénétéau suggested that the continued presence of even simple terms such as *auton* and *iver* might mean that Lapo did not know French very well.<sup>61</sup> But in fact the Gallicisms are fewer than they were before. Sergio Marroni has been able to demonstrate in his recent collation of Lapo's manuscript with the four other extant copies of the long version a gradual process of elimination of Gallicisms over the course of the text's transmission. In particular he has shown that many of the variants among the manuscripts are explicable not as the reproduction of mechanical errors but as independent (or polygenetic) responses to Gallicisms that must have been present in preceding antigraphs. The reason the variants have failed to clarify the genealogy of the witnesses is that copyists all down the course of the tradition were intervening on the language of the text, in essence to perfect the process of translation from one vernacular idiom to another, thereby becoming co-translators or co-authors of the new text as it emerged from their transcriptions. This is a process effected by reading, by readers reading for themselves and comparing readings that they find in books available to them. The multiple versions of the *Fatti dei Romani* give palpable evidence of a long and gradual process of vernacular appropriation of ancient culture.

A Gallicism can be seen as a sign of translation's incompleteness, of work yet to be done. The French words that can be shown to lie behind the various solutions of the witnesses we have are a trace of the 'original' translation, or rather an early form of the translation that must have been rife with Gallicisms, as so many *volgarizzamenti* from the French certainly were. This has been explained by the proximity of the languages, in which the transfer between them has been called 'verbal transposition', rather than translation. The tradition of the *volgarizzamento* shows that the work of translation yet to be done was indeed done, little by little, scribe by scribe. Only through painstaking collation of the manuscripts, such as that done by Papini and Marroni, does the initiative of later copyists to eliminate these French words and complete the translation into their language become evident. Careful philological examination of the intricate tradition of the Italian translation concretely exposes the *volgarizzamento* as a continuing, open-ended process of many hands. Lapo's version was the product of a string not just of copyists, but, as Marroni calls them,



re-elaborating scribes, and even *copisti-volgarizzatori*. The scribes become translators themselves, and therefore co-authors of the translation they transcribe.

Marroni compares this re-elaborative, rather than simply reproductive, role of the scribes in the transmission of the *Fatti* to that apparent in the tradition of the *cantari*, the genre associated with Sacchetti's re-elaborating blacksmith-poet, the cheap literature that pleased the widow in Boccaccio's *Corbaccio* and Lovati's 'barbarous' street-singer in Treviso.<sup>62</sup> In the messy transmission of the *Fatti* through many hands, Frenchisms and even French words – of which the earliest version (now lost to us) must have been full – are progressively eliminated or adapted. This, as Marroni points out, is the work of many hands. Done by copyists, this kind of alteration is really part of the task of translation in which the copyists thereby participate. By removing Frenchisms and finding Italian equivalents, the copyist is really correcting the text, completing the incomplete work of translation. As any translator would, he consults whatever versions he has available to come up with the best solutions. Hence the bugbear of the textual editor – contamination – is the special tool of the translator as well as of the copyist who partakes in the process of *volgarizzamento*.

Volgarizzamenti are often, on the one hand, anonymous, as is the *Fatti dei Romani*, and as is the French text from which it was translated. Yet volgarizzamenti are almost always associated with the name of an author – a Sallust, a Lucan, a Suetonius, a Livy, or even an Aldobrandino da Siena. So while volgarizzamenti come to us through a series of other agents that some scholars have seen fit to equate with authors, their own derivative status vis-à-vis a distant and authoritative author is, if anything, repeatedly underlined. In the colophon of the Laurenziano manuscript where we saw Lapo sign his name, he makes a point of keeping distinct the writerly roles of composition, translation and transcription: 'Aldobrandino conpuose. . . traslatato . . . per ser Zuchero. . . e scritto p(er) me, Lapo'. The text of the *Fait* as well as of the many versions of the *Fatti* repeatedly invoke an authority ('Lucano dice'). Lapo remains faithful to his role as transcriber even when he openly announces his deviation from his model and interpolates other material, which the author he is following left out. Cicero (or rather, Brunetto Latini's version of Cicero) is called in to help with his task of transcription, of getting down the story, when Sallust drops the ball. Claude Buridant noted that although most medieval translators claimed fidelity to their sources, in practice it was meaning, not the letter, that counted, so that they were free to gloss and embellish it. He suggests

that this freedom stems from their lack of a notion of literary property.<sup>63</sup> Yet the temptation of the medieval transcriber is not so much to claim other people's work as his own as to ascribe to authorities works that he himself cobbled together from a variety of different sources. Elspeth Kennedy suggests that these enterprising scribes should be described, not so much as authors, but as editors. It is interesting to note that in her study of the manuscript tradition of such popular *mouvant* texts as the French prose romances of *Lancelot* and *Tristan*, she observes that only in the fifteenth century did French scribes begin to compare 'two or more versions, trying to reconcile different readings and picking a sentence now from one MS, now from another'.<sup>64</sup> This is the sort of work that Lapo di Neri Corsini was doing, perhaps in his spare time, perhaps only for himself, in Florence in 1313.

#### TITOLIVIO AND VALERIO MASSIMO

In the transmission of the *Fatti*, French terms were gradually eliminated. With Latin texts, there seems to have been a movement in two directions. Sometimes Latin terms were left in the original when translators were unsure how to find an idiomatic equivalent. Such Latinisms were often corrected in later redactions. But there was also a trend in which the *volgarizzatori*, particularly when they went back to retranslate things that had already been translated a first time, would restore the original Latin word or use (or coin) a Latinism that works in the vernacular but clearly recalls the foreign term behind it – *repubblica* instead of *comune*, for example.

Giuliano Tanturli has shown how use of the word *milite* for the Latin *miles* as opposed to *cavaliere* marks the volgarizzamento of the third decade of Livy as a more sophisticated effort than that of the fourth, traditionally attributed to Giovanni Boccaccio. Maria Teresa Casella, following on Giuseppe Billanovich's important discovery that the translations of the third and fourth decades were based on Petrarch's copy of Livy, believed that Boccaccio worked and reworked, 'as in a garden', the vernacular translation of Livy and of Valerius Maximus and its commentary.<sup>65</sup> But Tanturli has used his linguistic analysis of the witnesses to argue against Boccaccio's – or any single person's – authorship of all the various redactions of the volgarizzamenti of Valerius Maximus and Livy.

It is clear that in the complicated tradition of vernacular version of Valerius Maximus' *De dictis factisque memorabilibus*, someone did go back to revise his earlier translation because there is a proem to that

effect at the beginning of the glosses present in two witnesses. This person confesses that when he was asked to put glosses on the translated text, he became aware of how many mistakes he had made in his first attempt to translate it:

I brought over [Valerius Maximus] from Latin into this vulgar tongue another time, but certain religious wise men, considering the affection laypersons bear towards this book because of its narrations of the deeds and sayings worthy of memory that are in it, and considering the brevity of these stories that the author touches on, which instils thirst in listeners for a more expanded style, made on this book certain writings, like glosses. Wherefore, when I was asked to put those glosses onto this text and especially because in many places I did not understand the same thing the glossators do because of the poverty of my ability, I had better bring it over again into said language together with the necessary and useful glosses. Therefore no one should be surprised to see this second *vulgare* different from the first.<sup>66</sup>

This translator's earlier attempt has usually been identified with the most fortunate redaction (surviving in twenty-nine manuscripts and four sixteenth-century editions) and hence called the 'vulgate', which is full of errors of translation as well as awkward and sometimes impenetrable phrases.<sup>67</sup> In addition to the revision introduced by the proem quoted above, preserved complete only in a single Florentine manuscript (Palatino 762), there is a third version preserved in two witnesses, which Concetto Marchesi had first attributed to a later, 'unknown and incompetent redactor', but which Adriana Zampieri has demonstrated to be the oldest of all three, blaming its abundance of errors in large part on a poor Latin exemplar. For Zampieri as for Casella, similarities between the earliest and latest versions are explained by its persistence in the memory of a single translator, who recalled some of his earliest attempts to translate the text even as he was working on his second revision.<sup>68</sup>

Some manuscripts of the vulgate are accompanied by glosses transcribed in the same hand as the text, indicating that they were linked already from an early date. These marginal glosses, which constitute the oldest extant collection of vernacular commentary on Valerius, are thicker in the first books, petering out altogether in the sixth. They have some extended historical and mythological explanations but for the most part are brief definitions and recalls. The witnesses we have of the revised translation, apparently motivated, as we were told in the proem already quoted, by the encounter with the commentary of learned clerics, contain a different set of glosses. Their content makes evident their derivation from the Latin commentary on Valerius Maximus that the Augustinian

friar Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro, friend of both Boccaccio and Petrarch, dedicated to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna sometime after 1327. These new vernacular glosses exist in embryonic form in two manuscripts, mixed in with a text of *Valerio Massimo* that is not the same as the vulgate or the revised version.<sup>69</sup> They are present more fully in Panciatichiano 58, and more elaborately still in Palatino 762, both witnesses of the revised version of the text of *Valerio Massimo* and both containing the proem announcing a retranslation inspired by the encounter with learned commentators.

Tanturli's close study of these latter two manuscripts has yielded a clear stratification present in the glosses even before they were copied down into these two surviving witnesses. Moreover, the glosses of both manuscripts do not match the text transmitted by either, suggesting that they were detached from some other version that has not come down to us. The glosses as they appear in Palatino and Panciatichiano are already sedimented with traces of scholars, or at least curious readers, at work. In a layer prior to the accretions of both witnesses, someone was already collating the glosses he was copying with others, as he sometimes makes explicit: 'Un'altra chiosa dice che questi è Cato Censorino' ('another gloss says this is Cato the Censor'). He has, moreover, consulted other historical sources, as he indicates in the next sentence: 'Ma truovo in Orosyo, libro V<sup>o</sup>', etc. ('but I find in Orosius, etc.').<sup>70</sup> Here is someone observing discrepancies and checking the sources available to him, remarking on different possibilities of translation and interpretation. A word some people translate as *biscanto* (singing) others translate as *stropiccio* (scraping); some prefer *cose* where others have *questioni*. Those who 'keep the letter as it is' interpret the sense of the passage one way; those who understand it differently gloss it differently.<sup>71</sup> These multiple revisions, reworkings and expansions happened at different moments in the transmission of text and glosses and therefore, as Tanturli soundly concludes, are attributable not to a single person, but to a lot of different people.

Increased understanding of the historical context of the translated text also has an effect on the mode of translation itself; indeed it leads ultimately away from translation altogether. In the *Fatti dei Romani*, we saw that a whole series of intermediate versions could be posited between some first attempt at translating the French text and Lapo's 1313 copy, in the direction of eliminating Gallicisms and rendering the language more fully *volgare*. Over the course of its rewriting, the *volgarizzamento* of Valerius Maximus undergoes something of a similar and then an opposite phenomenon. The earliest version, which Zampieri calls 'primitive', is full

of raw Latinisms that the vulgate then transforms into more fluent vernacular. Because of his evident incapacity to understand the Latin, the first volgarizzatore (or the same one in his first attempt) often transposes the Latin into the vernacular word for word, without rephrasing it in such a way that would make its meaning evident. Zampieri calls it a 'transcription' into the vernacular, rather than a translation. The vulgate, which is less literal, in general gets closer to the meaning of the Latin by finding apt vernacular equivalents, although not without its own blunders and befuddlements.<sup>72</sup>

While the vulgate version of Valerius Maximus wants to render everything as *volgarmente* as possible, the revised version goes back to substitute Latin terms or Latinisms, which in this case are not the sign of an inability to translate, but an unwillingness to do so. Casella observed the movement from vernacular to a more Latinate syntax as, for example, where verbal constructions (*quando aringava*) or relative clauses (*che li annunziasse*) are replaced with present participles (*aringante, annunziantegli*).<sup>73</sup> The feudal term *cavalieri* is replaced with the Latinism *militi*. For the Latin phrase *pallium togae subici*, the vulgate explained the concept rather than trying to reproduce the words: *sottomettere alla dignitade romana*, whereas the revised version adheres to the literal expression: *sottomettere il mantello alla toga*. Where the vulgate translates *in urbe nostra* simply as *Roma*, the revised version stays with the original phrasing (*nela nostra città*); *doctrina* is translated in the vulgate as *scienza* but left simply as it is in the revision. In general, there is a shift between the earlier and later versions from a looser, more readable translation to a stricter, more technical rendition of the Latin.<sup>74</sup>

Tanturli's review of the intricate tradition of the versions of *Valerio Massimo* and its vernacular glosses has put into view the many layers that compose each surviving witness – layers that do not point to the work of a single translator (even one so exceptional as might be Giovanni Boccaccio) but to many. They are witnesses to what Tanturli calls a sedimentation or the 'growth rings of a culture'. The tradition bears the traces of copyists of a diligence and curiosity similar to that of Lapo di Neri di Corsini, using whatever material they had available, perhaps but not necessarily including knowledge of and access to the Latin original, consulting other books and in dialogue with other glossators – as when a later commentator criticizes an earlier one: 'Alcuno chiosatore, e credo che male, racconta.'<sup>75</sup> The latest glossator of Valerius Maximus actually knows more than Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro and says so: 'Io scrittore non credo la soprascritta chiosa essere vera.'<sup>76</sup>

As we saw in the transmission of the *Fatti dei Romani*, nothing is more natural in the copying of a *volgarizzamento* than for the copyist to intervene to improve things – either with what he stores in his memory or with what he has stored in front of him in other versions, other glosses, other authorities, other copies of the original text. Symptoms of such contamination and layering are repetitiveness and even contradiction between consecutive glosses. Tantarli sees in these variants not chaos but a progressively more subtle, more historical, more critical understanding of antiquity. There is a concern for getting dates right, for clearing up confusions about people with the same names and in general filling out the historical context of things Valerius mentions by consulting other authorities, without any hesitation to contradict preceding, even prestigious, commentators.

These observations, together with a similar comparison Tantarli conducted on the *volgarizzamenti* of the third and fourth decades of Livy, suggest that greater understanding makes translation *less* possible, not more, to a point where the reality of the ancient world can be ‘understood but not translated’.<sup>77</sup> Emblematic of this notion of translation that leads ultimately to the abandonment of translation is the one witness of the vernacular third decade of Livy that, when it gets to the place where the second version of the translation broke off, we find the text continued, in another hand, in Latin.

*Volgarizzamenti*, like other vernacular literature, at this time and this place, are transmitted not so much by professional scribes who write what and as they are told to, but by readers interested in the material copying it out for themselves. These reader-writers, although involved in the most derivative kind of work imaginable – copying, translating, glossing and copying other people’s translations and glosses – are ultimately creating something new and are co-authors of that new artefact. The well-taken point of the Rouses that ‘physical presentation of texts in the manuscripts is determined by readers, rather than authors’ is an important distinction when ‘author’ signifies the remote figure, now reduced ultimately to a name, or perhaps a *numen*, hovering in spirit over the literary production and elaboration of a lot of other, mostly anonymous people.<sup>78</sup> It is true where the production of the book is wholly separate from the composition of the author, where books are produced by one set of people (professional scribes) for the needs of others. But in this environment of *volgarizzamento*, the person responsible for the layout of the page and the compilation at the stage visible in surviving witnesses is that book’s writer as well as its primary reader, even if he received it from and eventually

passes it on to others. He is, moreover, almost always building upon prior acts of writing, ordering, compilation, modernization, trivialization, addition, subtraction, collation and correction by others.

This lack of respect, one might call it, for the letter of the text, or lack of diligence in passing on the text as one found it, is due to the fact that a *volgarizzamento* is not really a text. That is, it is not the authority; it is not the *litera*. The classical scholar James Zetzel encountered similar phenomena in his efforts to produce a critical edition of Cornutus' commentary on Persius. He began to doubt that commentary, because of its natural liability to accretion, reduction and reuse, could be considered a text at all – in the sense of something originary that could be reconstructed by textual scholarship. *Volgarizzamento* is, essentially, commentary, where 'preserving the continuing vitality of one text necessarily meant constant alteration of the other'.<sup>79</sup> All these variants and complicated contaminations in the witnesses are motivated not by the taste for elaboration, as in so many French vernacular adaptations, but in the interest of purity and greater fidelity to the source. *Volgarizzamenti* are witnesses not just of urban reading at a particular moment in Florentine history, but of the evolution of that reading over time.

### CHAPTER 3

## *Cultural ricochet: French to Italian and back again*

#### LITERARY CONQUESTS

Benvenuto Terracini defined *volgarizzamento* as a kind of translation effected between peoples, rather than individuals. Translations from French, because of their narrative or informational content, like prose vernacular translations of Latin works, he called *volgarizzamenti*. Whereas Italian renditions of Occitan poetry he did not.

In relation to France we have an abundant literature of *volgarizzamento* – narrative or even clearly didactic and technical content, that is very analogous to – and sometimes is confused with – *volgarizzamento* from Latin . . . In relation to Provence, the attitude towards the vernacular is somewhat different; here we have more subtle, but in a certain sense unlimited, possibilities for transposition opened up by translation concentrated in poetic form, from poet to poet, more than from people to people. Here there is no place for *volgarizzamenti*.<sup>1</sup>

Italians translated both from Latin and from French and, at first, much Latin through French. Italian lyric poetry begins with translations of Occitan verse. Indeed the story of Italian literature in general is often narrated as a liberation from cultural domination from over the Alps.

Translation can be seen as a poorer culture's enrichment by another more developed one; or, on the contrary, as the target language's imposition of its own forms on an adopted source. In another context, Terracini noted that whereas Karl Vossler read the German translations of Dante's *Commedia* as a 'conquest by German culture', Italians like Terracini (an exiled Italian Jew writing in Spanish from South America) might well see such translations as an expansion of their own cultural influence.<sup>2</sup> In the sixteenth century, it was French that borrowed from Italian. French writers adopted Italian models, translated Italian works and even wrote in the Italian language. It was Italy that was thought to have introduced France to antiquity. Yet Jean Balsamo has characterized this pervasive Italian influence as a conquest of the Italians by the



French, a literary will to power, when French military domination of the peninsula had become impossible.<sup>3</sup>

If Italy was an irresistible influence in sixteenth-century France, when, for example, Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, based ultimately on the *Chanson de Roland* and similar *chansons de geste*, was translated into French, this was only reversing the tide of French culture over the Alps some three hundred years before, when Italian writers adopted French models, translated French works and even wrote in French. Paul Meyer described Italy in its encounter with French culture as a 'vacant land', virgin territory, as it were, ripe for literary colonization.<sup>4</sup> Yet Italian *volgarizzamenti* of French works are rarely viewed as a sign of 'conquest' as the German translations of Dante were. More often they are disdained for their passive submission to dominant cultural models. Italian literature is thought to begin 'for real' only as it disengages from Occitan and French influences, and Italian authors who deserved the name were expected to challenge or suppress the hegemony of those northern cultures.<sup>5</sup>

In view of its later reversal, one wonders whether the story of French in Italy need always be told as if it were the drama of Oedipus, in which French is the vernacular cultural 'father' to be got out of the way. In 1895, Henri Hauvette saw the rise of Italian literature in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a fortunate continuation of French literature at the start of what he called 'notre décadence'. The culture in decadence at the time Hauvette was writing, however, was Italy's, to whom he expressed warm wishes for a speedy revival, on the heels of her only recently acquired political independence.<sup>6</sup> Like the portrait of national literary rivalries, this vision of an amicable passing of the baton also depends upon a concept of borders that did not exist in the thirteenth century, when the linguistic difference between some dialects of France and Italy would have been smaller than between some on the peninsula itself, some regions of Italy were ruled by French-speaking dynasties and no standard had been established for any of the vernaculars. It has been observed that Italy was resistant to literature in any vernacular until rather late.<sup>7</sup> Because there was a literature in French and Occitan a good hundred and fifty years before there was one in Italian, these were considered the languages of vernacular literature. Rather than conquest, one might see the adoption of such 'alien' tongues as the borderless freedom to use them as one's own. French was a literary and performative instrument, not a birthright. When Italian started to be a literary language, in large part thanks to numerous translations made of French texts, Gallicisms remained, and French texts continued to be read and even written by Italians.

Carlo Dionisotti wrote polemically in 1967 about the large role of French at the origins of Italian literary culture. Criticizing the authors of the Garzanti *Storia della letteratura italiana* for under-emphasizing the importance of the French language in this first period, he claimed that their insistence on thirteenth-century Latin rhetorical texts gave a 'mirage of the origins' to Italian literature, turning it into a presentiment of humanism which, Dionisotti says, it was not. The salient fact for him is not only the quantity of material translated from French, but that all that was known of ancient Roman history was known through French intermediaries.<sup>8</sup> Foremost among these was the *Fait des Romains*, whose Frenchness was only gradually and quite incompletely eliminated in subsequent versions of its Italian translation, as we saw in Chapter 2. Indeed, as we will see in this chapter, a northern Italian will in the fourteenth century in effect retranslate the *Fait* from an Italian prose context back into an imagined French verse original.

The aim of the present chapter is to show how *volgarizzamento* is part of a larger phenomenon of reception that is not a linear transferral from one culture to another so much as a parallel activity and an often reciprocal relationship. The reception of Transalpine literature is evident in its frequent transcription and translation, and in the adoption of those languages by Italians in their own compositions. Translation can in fact be seen as growing out of a culture of transcription, giving rise to an intermediate language between the French source and the Italian target. Yet it is also possible to tell a story of the influence of Italian culture on those same texts, on their composition and reception. This case can be made for the *Tresor*, the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Fait des Romains*. And finally, the phenomenon of contamination tells us that Italians did not stop reading French texts in the original once they were translated. Reading the different versions together seemed to be a good way to make a new book, as can be seen in the Italian reception of the history of Troy through French intermediaries.

#### FRENCH IN ITALY

Francis of Assisi, whose name already reflects his merchant father's predilection for things French, is reported by his early biographers to have sung the praises of the Lord in *lingua francigena*.<sup>9</sup> A professor of law, Odofredo Denari (d. 1265) made notes in the margins of his commentaries on lawbooks about jongleurs and blind people singing of Lord 'Rolandus' and 'Oliverius' at the town hall of Bologna, in order to beg

for money.<sup>10</sup> Towards the end of the century, the Latin poet Lovato Lovati mocked a performer on an outdoor stage in Treviso who 'deformed' songs about Charlemagne composed in the French language. In his study of inventories of private libraries in northern Italy, full of books described as *liber in francisco vulgari* or *in franzoj* or in *sermone francigeno*, Francesco Novati remarked on the curious phenomenon at the end of the Duecento of a people borrowing almost exclusively from a foreign literature for their intellectual nourishment.<sup>11</sup>

In the first part of the thirteenth century, Occitan poetry had a second wind in Italy where troubadours found patronage in northern Italian courts.<sup>12</sup> Yet even before that migration, Italians had evidently been composing in that language. In 1172 Peire d'Alvernhe sings of an old 'Lombard' companion, whose comic compositions he mocks as using 'bastard' words – words deriving presumably from an imperfect grasp of Occitan. The oldest poetic composition written in that language by an Italian that has come down to us is an exhortation against the Germans, probably composed in the spring of 1194, when Henry VI was preparing to descend into Italy.<sup>13</sup> The Mantuan poet Sordello (d. 1269), whom Dante honours in the Valley of the Princes in the *Purgatorio*, wrote only in Occitan, so far as we know. Presumably to facilitate such compositions in a foreign literary idiom, around 1250 Uc Faidit wrote for two Italian lords a grammar and metrical treatise called the *Donatz Proensals*.<sup>14</sup> Just before 1300, in a work entitled *Doctrina de Cort*, Terramagnino da Pisa paraphrased in Occitan verses an earlier Occitan grammar, the *Razos de trobar*, by the Catalan Raimon Vidal. Dante had read and imitated Occitan poetry before 1300 and in the *Purgatorio* grants Arnaut Daniel the unique privilege of speaking in his native tongue, the only extended passage of the *Divine Comedy* he composed in a vernacular other than his own. As a young lyric poet, Dante had put his own language into a verse form invented by Arnaut, the *sestina*. By speaking Occitan in Dante's own invented meter, *terza rima*, Arnaut is made to return the compliment as a character in the *Commedia*.<sup>15</sup>

In Frederick II's Sicily, literate courtiers, who were largely notaries, lawyers and judges, not only imitated Occitan poetry but translated it directly. Giacomo da Lentini's 'Madonna dir vo voglio', which holds the honour of first place in the authoritative Vatican manuscript anthology of the earliest Italian poetry, is a translation of at least the first two strophes of Folquet de Marseille's 'A vos, midontç, voill retrair'en cantan'. Furio Brugnolo observed that Giacomo's experiment in translation is neither a servile linguistic transfer, nor a free adaptation, but a *traduzione d'arte*

from one cultural context to another. Aurelio Roncaglia and Gabriele Giannini have also studied the literary originality of apparent or even explicit translations of Occitan lyric – such as the one to which the Anonimo Genovese gave the Latin title, ‘De quibusdam provincialibus translatis in lingua nostra’.<sup>16</sup>

#### TRANSCRIPTION

The most passive form of reception of French and Occitan is transcription. The earliest extant chansonniers of Occitan poetry were produced or brought to Italy in the second half of the thirteenth century. More than half the manuscripts from the next century were also produced in Italy.<sup>17</sup> Virtually all the Sicilian lyrics we have today have been transmitted in the Tuscanized form given them by copyists of collections. Many of the thirteenth-century French manuscripts we have today were also copied by Italians, mostly in the Veneto, and some French literature would be unknown without these and later Italian witnesses. The Italian passion for both Occitan poetry and French romance has been described as an anachronism of literary taste.<sup>18</sup> The phenomenon of massive transcription of this material distinguishes Italy from Germany or Spain, where French literature was translated, but not copied.

The Italian origin of manuscripts written in languages other than Italian is determined in a number of ways: a linguistic patina, a style of illumination, notes of possession, titles and marginalia written in Italian (‘questo libro va in inanci a un altro che comincia. . .’) or the price of the book (‘vale fiorini 1; vale pochi quatrini’).<sup>19</sup> There are some twenty-odd manuscripts of the romances *Tristan* and *Lancelot* in French that were made in Italy. Eight of them come from a single scriptorium to which about twenty-five manuscripts in French on historical romance themes have been attributed. Most Arthurian manuscripts in French copied in Italy are from the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth. After that the material is transmitted mostly in Italian. The *Tristan*, unlike the *Lancelot*, was repeatedly translated into Italian, starting at least with the so-called *Tristano Riccardiano* from the late thirteenth century. The *Tristano Riccardiano* is the best preserved of four manuscripts of a late thirteenth-century translation based in part on a French prose *Tristan* that has not survived. The number of Gallicisms in the volgarizzamento have led to speculation that it was produced by a Tuscan merchant residing in France. The Italian version is also the source of subsequent Castilian, Catalan, Latin and Bergamasque translations, as

well as a retranslation into French.<sup>20</sup> Apart from a few Duecento fragments in Pistoia, most of the other Italian Tristan material, including the *Tristano Panciatichiano*, the *Tavola Ritonda* and the *Tristano Palatino*, is from the fourteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Although there are about equal numbers of French copies made in Italy of the *Lancelot* and the *Tristan*, the *Lancelot* does not seem to have been given an Italian version. Or if it was, it had no great success, as no copies survive – which suggests, of course, that Francesca was reading her *romanzo francesco* in the original.<sup>22</sup>

This preservation and circulation of a foreign literature indicates that Italians were able and willing to read it in the original, which is not surprising given the strong financial, commercial and political ties between Italy and France and the proximity between the languages. Not only did they not always feel the need to translate French texts; they also composed some of their own, so that much early Italian literature is actually in French. These works include the *Prophéties de Merlin* and Rustichello da Pisa's *Meliadus*, as well as his transcription of the adventures of his Venetian cellmate, Marco Polo.<sup>23</sup> Taddeo da Pisa, a countryman of Rustichello's, also in prison in 1288, produced texts in Latin, in Pisan dialect and in French.<sup>24</sup> Martin da Canal chose to use French in a chronicle of Venice from its origins to about 1275.<sup>25</sup> Working from Latin versions of Arabic medical sources, Aldobrandino da Siena (d. before 1287) wrote his *Régime du corps* in French between 1234 and 1256 – a work which was subsequently translated 'back' into Italian several times.<sup>26</sup> Filippo di Novara (born c. 1195 in Cyprus) wrote in French a treatise on feudal law, *Livre de forme de plait*; a chronicle of Frederick II's wars in the East, known as *Mémoires*; and a sort of handbook of manners, *Des quatre tenz d'aage d'ome*.<sup>27</sup> The most important text written by an Italian in French is undoubtedly Brunetto Latini's encyclopedic *Tresor*, very soon translated into Tuscan, some have suspected by Brunetto himself.<sup>28</sup>

Sometimes the choice of French depends on the author's whereabouts or on his patrons. Brunetto Latini and Aldobrandino da Siena wrote their learned tracts while in France. Filippo di Novara was residing in French parts of the Holy Land. Between 1308 and 1310, Seneca's Letters to Lucilius were translated for an Angevin lord in the kingdom of Naples by a translator who excuses himself in the preface for his bad French.

And because he who translated [these letters] was not of the French language nor of the high wit or deep knowledge needed for this material, he excuses himself to all those who will see the work, let them not blame him if he has fallen short in some places of the correct use of the language or the meaning of the author, and

he begs them humbly that, through their goodness and generosity they correct and amend both, because he frankly confesses that it was too great a presumption to undertake to translate such a high thing.<sup>29</sup>

He apologizes for having undertaken a task so ill suited to his talents, although he was essentially forced to against his will, in obedience to his lord.

But he did not do it willingly, because Sir Bartholomy Signulfo of Naples, the count of Caserta and grand chamberlain of the kingdom of Sicily, asked him and ordered him to do it. And because he had it from his lord, he did not dare refuse it, but undertook to do things against his power and against his force.<sup>30</sup>

Similarly apologetic for his facility with the French language is Daniel Deloc who translated two oriental treatises on hunting and falconry from Latin into French for Enzo, King of Sardinia and natural son of Frederick II, who was in prison in Bologna between 1249 and 1274. Deloc offers the work 'although I am a poorly educated person and equipped with poor knowledge, and even though it is a difficult thing for my tongue to offer proper French, because I am Lombard'.<sup>31</sup>

Yet some, such as Brunetto Latini, defend their unforced choice of French on the basis of that language's inherent qualities.

And if anyone should ask why this book is written in romance according to the way of France, though we are Italian, I would say that it is for two reasons. One, that we are in France, and the other, because this speech is the most delightful and the most common to all languages.<sup>32</sup>

Martin da Canal similarly points to the currency of French in the world and its delightfulness to read or hear: 'And because the French language runs throughout the world, and is more delightful to read and to hear than any other, I have undertaken to translate the history of the Venetians from Latin into French.'<sup>33</sup> Vernacularization is often explained as a work of nation-building, yet here the Venetians are presented with their own history – in French.

The reasons to write in a particular vernacular were therefore not at all necessarily national. In the *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante agrees with Brunetto Latini that the *lingua d'oil* is the easiest and most delightful of languages and that it is especially good for prose. (By contrast, in the *Convivio*, he will condemn as abominable adulterers people who prefer other vernaculars to their own, natural, native tongue – as we shall explore further in Chapter 5.) In the *De vulgari*, geography and genre delimit the territories of languages. The Alps, the 'mountains of Aragon', the

Adriatic, the island of Sicily, the 'English sea' and the Germans mark the boundaries of *oc*, *oïl* and *sì*.<sup>34</sup> The three different languages are really three forms of 'our' idiom, as Dante calls it, so that French, Occitan and Italian are all, ultimately, one.<sup>35</sup> Each has its strengths, and Dante abstains from judging which is the best. Occitan, the sweetest and most perfect, holds the honour of being the first to have been used for poetry. The superiority of Italian is based on its greater proximity to Latin and on the fact that Cino da Pistoia and 'his friend' (i.e. Dante) have formed out of it not just sweet, but also subtle verses. French is praised for being easier and more delightful than the others, so that everything that has been copied or invented in vernacular prose 'belongs' to it. Dante gives as examples of subjects treated in French prose works the Bible, Trojan and Roman histories, Arthurian lore, and other historical and doctrinal material.<sup>36</sup> This curious reduction of Old French literature (the vast majority of which is in verse) to its rather late prose development reflects what was being avidly transcribed, translated and composed in Dante's time. Prose romances on Arthurian themes would include the prose *Tristan* and the *Lancelot* that Francesca read to her peril, in addition to the Arthurian works written in French by Italians we have already mentioned (*Prophécies de Merlin* and *Meliadus*). For 'doctrinal' works in French, he could also be thinking of French works by Italians, such as Aldobrandino da Siena and, most importantly, Brunetto Latini. His reference to the 'deeds of the Romans' strongly suggests the *Fait des Romains*, so widely available in Italy both in the original and in translation. For the Trojans, Dante must have in mind not Benoît de Sainte-Maure's original *Roman de Troie*, however widely known, because it is in verse, but rather one of its French prose versions, of which three of the five extant are of Italian origin.<sup>37</sup> Another candidate would be the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, frequently bound together with the *Fait des Romains* (and translated together with it as witnessed by Lapo's copy), which begins with a section on biblical history from the Creation to the death of Joseph, before moving on to the Assyrians, Thebes, Greece, Troy, Aeneas and Rome.<sup>38</sup> The *Histoire* thus corresponds in fact to the compilation of ancient histories with biblical material suggested by Dante's phrase 'Biblia cum Troianorum Romanorumque gestibus compilata'.

Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo proposes, moreover, that in mentioning religious, Arthurian, historical and doctrinal works, Dante could be referring not only to prose written in French by non-Frenchmen, such as Aldobrandino and Brunetto, but also to compilations and translations derived from or imitating French works composed in 'nostro volgare'.<sup>39</sup> If this is

true, *lingua d'oïl* would be a generic rather than a linguistic distinction. In such a view, all those *volgarizzamenti* of French texts, rife with gallicisms, are in fact *still* French texts, since they fall into the category of vernacular prose redaction which belongs ultimately and utterly to French. In other words, language is not what determines the French-ness or Italian-ness of a text.

This is clearly the case with Brunetto Latini's *Tresor* that is in many ways more an Italian than a French work. It is not so much a vehicle for French culture into Italy as an Italian's take on French culture, in particular of the scholastic encyclopedia which in France would be written in Latin. It states its Italian-ness explicitly in its focus on the government of cities *all'italiana*, where the citizens and the townspeople and the community of cities elect their *podestà* and their lord ('en Ytaile, que li citain et li borgois et li communauté des viles eslisent lor poesté et lor signour'). The systems of government in France and in other countries that are subject to the rule of kings and other perpetual princes ('uns ki sont en France et es autres païs, ki sont sozmis a la signorie des rois et des autres princes perpetueus'), Brunetto says, do not belong to him nor to his friend for whom he is writing the book ('n'apertient pas a lui ne a son ami').<sup>40</sup> This political difference also underlies the *Tresor's* very Italian emphasis on rhetoric. The science of speaking well and the science of governing people together, affirms Brunetto, make up the most noble art in the world ('autresi est la science de bien parler et de gouverner genz plus noble de nulle art dou monde').<sup>41</sup> Almost half of the second book of the *Tresor* is made up of a partial translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, which Concetto Marchesi showed derived from the *Italian* translation of it by Taddeo Alderotti.<sup>42</sup> A further indication of the *Tresor's* otherness in relation to French literature is the fact that it is the first encyclopedia written in that language – a fact so odd to French culture that some manuscripts claim that it was translated from Latin.<sup>43</sup>

The Italian copyists of the French *Tresor* made changes and remarks on the text in French, not just in the Angevin parts of the south, but also in central and northern Italy.<sup>44</sup> In particular some changes were made, probably by an Italian writing in French, that constitute what is considered a 'second edition' of the *Tresor*, whose principal distinguishing feature is its extension of the historical narrative towards the present and reorientation around Italian events. This modified *Tresor* had great success in Italy both in the original French and in the Italian prose translation, the *Tesoro*, to which further updates were made. Brunetto's encyclopedia had even greater circulation in its Italian translation, from



which derive versions in Castilian, Latin, Catalan and even a retranslation back into French. There also exists a versified *Tesoro*, which is translated from a French verse adaptation of the original *Tresor*.<sup>45</sup>

Pietro Beltrami believes, contrary to the standard view, that Brunetto's 'other' treasure, the rhyming narrative of the *Tesoretto*, is not an early literary foray then abandoned, like the *Rettorica*, in favour of the larger more successful project of the encyclopedia in French prose. Rather, he sees the smaller work in Italian verse as a reduction of the French work. Beltrami reads a critical passage in the *Tesoretto* where Brunetto seems to refer his reader to the *Tresor* as a reference to a prior work that *will* make things clearer, rather than a work that he will write in the future.<sup>46</sup> French figures here as the language of prose, of clear and extended explanations, not hindered by considerations of the economy of verse. On this view, then, the *Tresor* would function almost as an explanatory gloss on the *Tesoretto*, even though it was written first. Another argument in favour of the later dating of the *Tesoretto* are its Gallicisms, what Contini called *iperfrancesismi*, some of them seeming to be specific echoes of the French *Tresor*. Such Gallicisms indicate that the *Tesoretto*, though an original work in Italian, was made to resemble other Italian *volgarizzamenti* of French texts that retain the trace of their source. Each of these texts, both of which are essentially original compositions, behave in different ways like *volgarizzamenti* of the other: the *Tresor* as prose gloss on the *Tesoretto*, the *Tesoretto* as Italian versification of a French source.<sup>47</sup>

Brunetto Latini's *Tresor* also seems to have had a decisive role in the fate of another French text we have already encountered in its Italian translation: the *Fait des Romains*. The story of the Italian fortunes of this French text is another good example of the cross-currents of cultural exchange brought about by transcription, translation and adaptation.

#### THE IMPACT OF AN ITALIAN RECEPTION: 'LI FAIT DES ROMAINS'

*Li fait des Romains* also started out as a vernacular translation, although it is a much freer compilation and elaboration of diverse texts than normally found in Italian *volgarizzamenti*. Its anonymous author compiled and translated into French prose Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline*, Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, Lucan's *Civil War*, Suetonius' *Life of Caesar*, interspersed with other Latin and vernacular sources. Contrary to the breadth suggested by its original title, the work really ended up being only about Julius Caesar, as the Italian translators perceived, calling it *Fatti di Cesare*. Composed between 1213 and 1214, the *Fait* marked a shift in the literary

tastes in its place of origin, which Gabrielle Spiegel has described as the rise of vernacular prose historiography in thirteenth-century France.<sup>48</sup> French literature had previously tended to adapt antiquity to the tastes of its own aristocracy by turning the matter of Greece and Rome into verse romances that reflected chivalric values. Cesare Segre has explained the free adaptation of classical material in medieval French literature as the result of the maturity and vigour of French culture, with no need to borrow prestige from ancient history.<sup>49</sup> As Jeanette Beer puts it, Julius Caesar was 'not among the early heroes of vernacular French literature'. Louis-Fernand Flutre, who produced the largest study and an edition of the *Fait des Romains*, supposes that the greater apparent historical veracity of the matter of Caesar made compiler-poets hesitant to make romance of it as they had of Alexander, Troy and Thebes.<sup>50</sup>

What was new with the *Fait des Romains*, in terms of French culture, was the interest in Caesar, in Roman history as opposed to legend, and the prose form. For Italian literature, by contrast, Caesar and Roman history came first; and Italians were from the beginning more likely to convert their sources, whether French or Latin, into prose. The genre and subject matter of this text come at a late moment in a trajectory of French compilation, adaptation and translation, but at or near the beginning of an Italian one. Despite Italians' more immediate interest in things Roman, it was above all through French texts – like *Li fait des Romains* – that news of Roman antiquity came into the Italian vernaculars. These divergent trajectories of literary taste in France and in Italy meet in the *Fatti dei Romani*.<sup>51</sup>

Spiegel has argued that the shift towards historical prose in France was linked to a specific political and ideological agenda, in which the claims of prose to greater truth value were important for those who patronized such works aimed at legitimating their own position of power. While Jeanette Beer suggests that the novel subject of Caesar in the *Faits des Romains* helped to justify Philip Augustus' territorial ambitions, Spiegel proposes that it offered 'a pejorative analogue to the French king'.<sup>52</sup>

Yet weighing against the notion that the *Fait des Romains* was either requested by or aimed primarily at a lay court culture for local, political reasons is Bernard Guenée's contention that this text was produced in a learned, clerical, university milieu, with very little success among the French nobility. His careful review of Flutre's census of the manuscripts leads him to argue that what had been a rather unsuccessful novelty in France became widely read and copied in its land of origin (with some sixty surviving manuscripts), not immediately, but only after its arrival in Italy.

The authors transmitted in French prose by the compiler of *Li faits des Romains* were favourites neither of the courts, nor of the monasteries. Courtly literature dealt with the matters of France, Britain and Greece. The preferred historians for sacred study in the monastery were Orosius and Flavius Josephus, while Sallust, Suetonius, Lucan and Caesar were used and commented upon in the schools to teach grammar, rhetoric and moral lessons. The author of the *Fait* follows the glosses of Arnulf of Orléans on Lucan line by line, as well as the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, Flavius Josephus' *War of the Jews* (but not *Antiquities of the Jews* and not Orosius), Peter Comestor's *History of the Maccabees*, a little of the Bible, some St Augustine, Geoffrey of Monmouth (or his Norman remaker, Wace), the *Roman de Thèbes* and the *Roman d'Alexandre*. Despite these last two sources and a handful of battle scenes elaborated along the lines of contemporary chivalric tastes, the author makes few overtures to a possible courtly audience. Guenée thinks it unlikely that Philippe Auguste, so little interested in literature anyway, would try to advance a political agenda of legitimating the Capetian dynasty among the knightly class with a text like this, so out of step with contemporary literary fashion. Around 1215 *Li fait des Romains* was in no way poised, he says, to seduce the laity. That is because it was not primarily meant for the nobility, who after all preferred romances in verse inspired by classical themes, but was rather written by a cleric for other clerics to read, probably in the environs of the university.<sup>53</sup>

Guenée calls it an 'oeuvre de cabinet' whose only documented readers still fifty years after its composition were from the university milieu. A chronology from Adam up to 1239 appended to the end of some copies of the *Fait*, because of its ecclesiastical focus and specific local interest in the region of Poitou, serves as the only indication that someone, probably a cleric working for a Poitevin lord, took an interest in the work outside of Paris before the second half of the thirteenth century. Between 1240 and 1250, a French cleric made use of *Li fait des Romains* in order to write his own *Hystoire de Julius Cesar*, also a learned work not destined to entertain aristocrats.

In fact, the *Fait* really only started to circulate in a lay context when Brunetto Latini – also working in the shadow of the university – inserted a section of it into his *Tresor* (1260–6). Paul Meyer was the first to demonstrate that Caesar's speech, which Latini uses as an example of political oratory in *Tresor* III.i.34 is derived not directly from Sallust's *Catilinarian Conspiracy* 51, but from the *Fait des Romains*.<sup>54</sup> The Sallustian extract of the *Fait* would have come to Italy with the first Italian translations of the

*Tresor*, but the whole text probably arrived shortly after 1266 perhaps with the entourage of Charles of Anjou, indeed about the same time that Brunetto Latini would have returned to his homeland. Around that time, someone in Italy added the brief history of emperors all the way to Frederick II. Guenée ties the extraordinary success of the *Fait* in Italy to what he calls an accident: the whim of some French gentleman, probably from Poitou, who loved the *Fait* enough to bring it along in his luggage on the trip with Charles.

Yet since the *Fait* first comes into wide vernacular circulation via an Italian writing in France, one wonders whether the book's success in France after its descent into Italy is as fortuitous as Guenée imagines. What emerges from his synthesis of Fluttre's history of the tradition, translation and appropriation of the *Fait* in the two languages is that this French text became popular really only with the intervention and reception of Italians. The Italians, as already noted, preferred history and preferred it in prose. As Gabrielle Spiegel observed, the first use of the term 'prose' also enters the French language only with Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*.<sup>55</sup>

It is not simply that the Italian reception of French literature happened to come at the moment that the latter was itself turning towards historical prose. Rather, the Italian readership of the *Fait des Romains* actually seems to have contributed to its survival and indeed its notable success even in France. Six of the surviving manuscripts of *Li fait des romains* in French were produced in Italy, including one of the very oldest witnesses of the French text, which the scribe says he copied in Rome in 1293, from an exemplar that belonged to a Roman gentleman: 'Here ends the romance of Julius Caesar, that was written in Rome in the year of Grace 1293 and the exemplar was taken from Mssr. Luqe de Sabele, a knight of Rome.'<sup>56</sup> Four of the other Italian manuscripts were copied in the fourteenth century, and a fifth at the beginning of the fifteenth. Two of these manuscripts are in an Italian hand; a third is closely related to those, a fourth was illuminated in Venice. The Italian family of manuscripts is identified by their addition of a brief history in French of the emperors from Augustus to Frederick II that is added onto a version of the text that contains the Poitevin chronology – suggesting that the text was circulating in Italy before the death of Manfred (1266). Six of the some sixty manuscripts of the French text are therefore demonstrably Italian, but the surviving witnesses of the Italian translation of the *Fait* equal or outnumber all those of the French original.

The *Fatti dei Romani* (or *Fatti di Cesare*) date back as far as the third quarter of the thirteenth century, transmitted in six distinct redactions. One reason the translation may have had such immediate success in Italy is that whereas the French text occupies 744 pages in Flutre's edition, the Italian translation very soon circulated in an extremely abbreviated version (307 pages in Banchi's edition) which survives in over forty manuscripts. In addition to the plethora of versions of the *Fatti dei Romani*, a number of original Italian compositions of the fourteenth century depend either on the *Fait* or its Italian versions.<sup>57</sup>

This large number of Italian witnesses, comprising transcriptions, translations and adaptations, obliged Louis-Fernand Flutre in his full study of the *Fait des Romains* to move his intended exploration of a document of French literary history further and further into Italy.<sup>58</sup> As Guenée observed, it was the *Tresor*, written by an Italian and ultimately for an Italian audience, even if in French, that first picked up the French prose translation of Caesar's life that had languished for half a century in the clerical, academic milieu that had produced it, and transmitted it to a new and wider audience. Its belated and immense success with the French lay public came only after it made its way into the *Tresor* and its Italian translation, and shortly after or at the same time that in Italy it had begun to be transcribed, imitated and translated. The story of the Italian success of this important French book is, then, not simply one of the French cultural conquest of Italy in the thirteenth century, but of the influence on French literature of its Italian reception.

A further twist in the story of the *Fait des Romains* in Italy is the fourteenth-century franco-veneto verse *Pharsale*, which its author, Niccolò da Verona, takes pains to present as a useful transposition of the long prose text into memorizable French rhyming verse.

#### THE PERSISTENCE OF FRENCH AND FRANCO-ITALIAN

French survived as a literary language in Italy even after Dante's *Commedia* had affirmed once and for all the strength and possibilities of the Italian vernacular. Francesco Novati claimed that up until the end of the Trecento, the literary culture of high society in Italy was 'still and everywhere almost completely French'.<sup>59</sup> Towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, late in a long line of Italian writers in French, Raffaele da Verona defended his linguistic choice with reasons that echo both the elitist doctrine of the 'gentle heart' of the *dolce stilnovo* and Dante's own apparently egalitarian reasons for using the vernacular: 'And to take away

melancholy and give delight and joy to those who have a gentle heart, I have put it into a language that could be understood by men and by ladies both lettered and unlettered.'<sup>60</sup> In the *Convivio*, Dante, who had condemned just such a preference for other vernaculars, similarly defended the use of his own because it would be useful to noble people, 'not just men but also women, who are very many of them speakers of this language and not schooled in letters [*volgari, e non litterati*]'.'<sup>61</sup> Yet some of these noble people, it turns out, simply preferred French.

In 1343, Niccolò da Verona composed his *Pharsale* for Niccolò d'Este, the marquis of Ferrara, in a language he calls French. Niccolò describes his role in the making of the book as that of rhymster. He names himself and his patron but refers to the original author only as 'ancient' and cites his real source only obliquely as the subject of the work (the 'deeds of the Romans'):

E se volés savoir qi cist livre rima,  
Escoutés l'autre rime, qar nomé vos sera.  
Rep[r]andre ne m'en poit nus hon – bien le conois –  
Qe de cist feit vos die mençoigne ni bufois,  
Qar selonc l'ancien auctor oïr porois.  
E ce qe ce vous cont dou feit des Romanois  
Nicholais le rima dou païs Veronois  
Por amor son seignor, de Ferare marchois:  
E cil fu Nicholais, la flor des Estenois,  
Corant mil e troicent ans e qarante trois.<sup>62</sup>

And if you want to know who rhymed this book, listen to the other rhyme, because he will be named for you. No one can reproach me, well I know, for telling you lies or mockeries of these deeds, for you will be able to hear the ancient author's account. And that which it recounts of the deeds of the Romans [or the *Fait des Romains*] Nicholas from the country of Verona rhymes them for love of his lord, the marquis of Ferrara, and he was Nicholas, the flower of the Estensi, during the year one thousand three hundred and forty three.

He explains the utility of his work at the very outset, as giving his lord the possibility of remembering the deeds of the Romans even in the absence of the book.

Mes dou feit des Romeins ne pooit por certance  
Nul conter bien a pont tot la droite sentence.  
Se tote foi n'avoit l'autor en sa prexance,  
Pour ce q'il n'est rimé par nulle concordance  
E home civauçant auroit trou destorbance  
A lire por zamin le feit en comunance.

Or le vous veul rimer por tele destinace:  
 Qe cil qe por ma rime l'aura en remembrance  
 Le pora dir sens livre e sens nulle pesance  
 E de falir l'istoire ja non aura dotance ... (lines 28–37)

But certainly no one could exactly recount the whole accurate content of the deeds of the Romans [or *Li fait des Romains*] if he did not always have the author in his presence, because it is not rhymed in any harmony. And a man riding on a horse would have too much trouble to read the deeds all together on the road. Now I want to rhyme them for you for such a purpose: so that he who remembers it because of my rhyme will be able to tell it without the book and without any burden and he will have no fear of getting the story wrong.

Countering the topos linking rhyme with mendacity that lay behind the prose movement of which the original thirteenth-century *Fait des Romains* was representative, Niccolò claims to be both a rhymster and an accurate reporter. He is also in a sense 'translating' the *Fait* back into the older French form of *chanson de geste* that had been long out of fashion in France. Although both his sources and his own compositions are ostensibly in French, the very first lines of the poem – 'Seignour, je vous ay ja pour vers e pour sentance / contié maintes istoires en la langue de Françe' – suggest a project of translation, faithful both to the letter (*vers*) or form of the originals, as well as to their meaning (*sentance*). He has in fact altered so many of the words that it has not been possible to pin down a particular version of the *Fait* as his source – or even to exclude the possibility that he was working from the Italian *Fatti* and moving it back into French.<sup>63</sup>

Niccolò da Verona's *Pharsale* engages the *Fait des Romains* in a completely different way from Lapo's big book of the *Fatti*, examined in Chapter 2. Whereas Lapo sees opportunity for expansion of an already enormous text and adds other relevant texts and alternate translations of the same text, Niccolò tries to reduce the material into a digestible and memorable product. Whereas Lapo and/or his predecessors moved the language of the Italian translation of the *Fait* still further from the French, Niccolò chooses to put it, in a sense, *back* into French and back into the verse forms of more archaic French literature. Niccolò's initiative suggests that the shift towards prose and the *volgarizzamento* movement in Italy which was related to it, were trends *away* from good, memorable texts that one could learn by heart and then do without.

Thirty years after the late stage in the process of its de-frenchification represented by Lapo's transcription of the *Fatti*, the *Fait des Romains* was

not only still being read in Italian-speaking places, but being reworked in the 'language of France'. Flutre classifies this text, written by and for an Italian, among the French borrowings of the *Fait des Romains*, rather than its Italian fortunes. Although it may well have been the fault of the scribes, as Niccolò feared, scholars describe the language of all his works not as French, but rather as *franco-veneto*.

Franco-veneto is a label that has been applied to everything from French that is lightly *venetizzato* to Veneto with some traces of French. Roncaglia has argued that this ill-defined language is in part a result of Italians' habit of copying down literature in languages other than their own. It might also be understood as a kind of incomplete translation, where the language of origin still predominates over the target or, on the contrary, as the result of Italians trying to write in a foreign tongue. The language is so inconsistent that some see it as specific to each of the texts in which it is found. As Niccolò himself suggests, it is symptomatic of a shift from written text to oral memory and performance. The prologue to the fourteenth-century franco-veneto *Chanson de Roland* seems to address possible performers of the work, those that 'speak the writing in song' ('qui parle le scrit in çante'). Roncaglia calls franco-veneto an irreducibly ambiguous phenomenon, a relation not between two languages, but between two opposed linguistic functions: transcription and translation; that is to say, a hybrid arising from a habit of reading, reciting, copying down and performing literature in vernaculars other than one's own. In trying to be French and also Italian, franco-veneto is a phenomenon stemming from the fundamental compromise of all translation: between fidelity to the original and the need to communicate meaning to a different audience. Yet sustained works of high literary pretension, such as those of Niccolò da Verona, suggest that it is not simply a by-product of transcription or translation, nor of ignorance or inadvertent contamination, but rather a literary choice of a literary language, learned from books and adapted, as all *volgarizzamenti* are, to an immediate public.<sup>64</sup>

Despite his insistence on memory and oral performance, expressed in the goal of being able to recall the story without the 'presence' of the author, Niccolò's most recent editor argues forcefully for his dependence on written sources in his possession, even of texts as thoroughly well known as the Gospels, rather than composition from memory. Di Ninni also maintains that, despite his addresses to a listening public, he has readers in mind.<sup>65</sup> At any rate he certainly aims to distance himself from the sloppy public performers of French material of the sort Lovati so decried.



Und pri li giugleors qe cantent orendrois  
 Qe de ce ne se vantent, e feront cum cortois.  
 Qar dit le proverbe, cum vous oï avois:  
 Qi d'altruy drais se vest, se desvest mante fois;  
 Und chascun deit vestir suen cors de ses hernois,  
 S'il ne vout qe les giens facent de lu gabois.  
 E qi le vout canter si doit doner le lois  
 A cil qi le rima, soit zentil ou borçois.<sup>66</sup>

And I ask the jongleurs who sing from now on that they do not boast of this, and in so doing they will act in a courtly way. Because the proverb says, as you have heard: He who dresses in another's clothes undresses himself many times over. Every man must dress his body with his own armour, if he does not want people to make fun of him. And he who wants to sing it must give credit to him who rhymes it, be he noble or bourgeois.

Vaunting the correctness of his own French, Niccolò apparently thinks he can avoid the ridicule suffered by those who dress in other people's clothes, even though he is writing in the language of another people. He brags that no Frenchman, either from Paris or from the provinces, could find fault with his language.

Qar çe ne say nuls hom en Paris ne en Valois  
 Qe non die qe ces vers sont feit par buen François,  
 Fors qe faus escritors ne li facent sordoïs.

For I do not know any man in Paris or in Valois who would not say that these verses were made by a good French person, unless false scribes make them worse.

He is acutely aware that the life of his poem, no matter how easy to memorize, is still ultimately in the hands of scribes.

The *Pharsale* in a sense moves the tradition backwards because of its conversion of a prose French text into the more traditional French form of verse *chanson de geste*.<sup>67</sup> Niccolò's position vis-à-vis his audience resembles the French aristocratic milieu of the great works of French literature – a milieu very different from the urban, mercantile context of a Lapo di Neri Corsini. Verse is for listeners; prose is for readers. Niccolò's undertaking has different motives from those of Lapo. He does it explicitly for someone besides himself, for someone who is not a reader, but would like to be read to, and might like to learn it by heart. The feudal relationship between the two Nicholases, poet and patron, has more in common with the ambience of the early French romances of *Eneas*, *Thèbes*, *Alexandre*, *Troie*, than with the editing and transcription project of the merchant-copyist Lapo di Neri Corsini we saw in Chapter 2.

## ITALIAN ORIGINS OF THE 'ROMAN DE LA ROSE'

Another example of complicated currents of influence between France and Italy is the *Roman de la Rose*. As an encyclopedic project in vernacular verse based on a story of personal quest culminating in the same flower, the *Rose* is the closest French counterpart to the *Divine Comedy*. Dante never mentions the *Rose*, nor does 'Durante', the author of the *Fiore* (a reduction of the French poem into a sequence of Italian sonnets), ever acknowledge his source. Yet it is often said that Dante, like the author of the *Fiore*, is in conscious rivalry with the *Rose*, and that establishment of their own authority depends upon these Italian authors' doing away with their most formidable French model.<sup>68</sup>

Alongside this presumptive Italian anxiety about the influence of the *Rose*, it is worth considering also that the *Rose* itself may be in part of Italian provenance, since archival evidence points to the possibility of Jean de Meun's presence as a law student in Bologna in the late 1260s. In 1916 Paul Durrieu drew attention to a notarized act made in Bologna in 1269 relating to a shipment of law-books to Paris and referring to a certain *Magister Johannes de Mauduno, Aurelianensis dyocesis*, whom Durrieu identified as Jean de Meun.<sup>69</sup> Durrieu's reading of the archival evidence suggests that Jean de Meun was in Italy at the time of events mentioned as current in the *Rose*, such as the nomination of Charles of Anjou as imperial vicar in Tuscany in February of 1268.<sup>70</sup> More recently Luciano Rossi has confirmed the thesis on the basis of another document, from 1265, having to do with Jean de Meun's debts in the city.<sup>71</sup> As Rossi points out, Jean de Meun's presence in Bologna during those years makes certain intellectual, if not physical intersections with Dante possible, such as a shared familiarity with the philosophical topoi in the poems of Guido Guinizelli. In that light, Dante's similar literary ambition might be not so much an imitation of a French model ungratefully suppressed, but an Italian development of an Italian impulse that had also helped to engender Jean's *Rose*.

Rossi also sees an Italian provenance of the *Rose* as helping to explain the provenance of the *Fiore*. Because of its extreme chronological proximity to the *Rose*, before we have evidence of its circulation in Italy, the *Fiore* is thought by many to have been written by a Tuscan residing in France, where its only manuscript was also preserved. Jean de Meun's presence in Bologna would make it more plausible that the *Rose* could have circulated early on among a group of Italian poets and become available to Dante who could have written the translation-adaptation in Italy in his youth.

The *Fiore*, with its 'orgy' of Frenchisms, has usually been seen as a product of intense French influence on the nascent and uncertain Italian literature. Its only literary originality, according to Robert Harrison, is its poverty of imitation. To the contrary, Zygmunt Barański has recently hailed the *Fiore* as a radical departure from what he calls the 'passive translation' of the usual *volgarizzamenti* from French being carried out at the time. Yet even though, as Barański points out, the metrical form itself, the sonnet, is quintessentially Italian, the choice to make a *remaniement* in verse at all, as opposed to a close prose rendition, is ironically more in line with the French mode of *enromancier* than Italian *volgarizzamento*.<sup>72</sup>

Jean de Meun himself seems to have made a concerted move, later in his career, from the poetic reworking of Latin authorities into French language, style and taste that he practised in the *Roman de la Rose* to didactic prose translation of the sort practised by Italians such as Bono Giamboni and Brunetto Latini. Jean's prose translations of Boethius and Vegetius were pioneering works in France, where direct prose translation of ancient authors would only become fashionable in the second half of the following century. If Jean de Meun got the idea for such translations from the Italian example, we might say that Italian *volgarizzamento*, vehicle of pervasive French influence, had already ricocheted its influence back onto French literature.<sup>73</sup>

#### TURNING ROMANCE BACK INTO HISTORY: 'HISTORIA DESTRUCTIONIS TROIAE'

Another example of the influence of the Italian reception of French literature in this period is the *Historia destructionis Troiae*, one of the most successful texts of the Middle Ages, written by a judge from Messina, Guido delle Colonne between 1272 and 1287, who may or may not be the same Guido da Messina, prominent figure of the Sicilian school of poetry, whose *canzoni* were praised by Dante and repeatedly anthologized. What is remarkable about the *Historia* for our purposes is that while its composition in Latin would seem to bolster its claim of transmitting the 'oldest' and most reliable sources for the Trojan War, it is in fact based primarily on *Le Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure – to the extent that it has been called a translation of that popular verse romance into Latin prose.<sup>74</sup> Like many *volgarizzamenti*, the *Historia* is a prose rendition and clarification of an unacknowledged French source that left its linguistic residue in the text. The transformation seems to have been wrought not simply by the hand of one author – Guido – but via

other transcriptions and prosifications of Benoît's text in Italy. The Latin *Historia*, deriving from this vernacular text and its multifaceted reception in Italy, itself became subject – like a 'grammatical' authority – to vernacularization into many European languages, including several Italian dialects, but also including French, by which it returned, thus changed, to its linguistic origins.

Benoît de Sainte-Maure had compiled and adapted two late antique Latin texts: one supposedly by Dares of Phrygia, mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad* as a Trojan priest, and the other by Dictys of Crete, companion of Idomeneus. Dares' *De excidio Troiae historia*, dating from the beginning of the sixth century, begins with a prefatory letter recounting its discovery and translation in Athens by the Roman historian Cornelius Nepos. The *Ephemeris belli Troiani*, dating from the fourth century, also presents itself as a translation of the diary of Dictys, written in Phoenician characters on tree bark, dramatically discovered when, in the time of Nero, an earthquake burst open the sepulchre of Dictys himself. For a very long time Dares and Dictys were the principal vehicles of knowledge about the Trojan War, not only in the West, but even in Greece where they still knew Homer. Francesco Bruni calls the two works a diptych because of their similar claims to truth, their elimination or reduction of divine intervention, and the fact that they tell the story of the war from the two opposing camps.<sup>75</sup>

In his *Historia*, Guido delle Colonne never cites Benoît, whose name appears repeatedly in the *Roman de Troie* as well as in many (if not all) of the prose versions of it, but rather emphasizes, as Benoît himself does, his adherence to Dares and Dictys. Léopold Constans noted that Guido invokes Dares and Dictys precisely in those places where Benoît has most elaborated on his own sources. Guido uses phrases like *de quo scripsit Dares* whenever there is a particularly ostentatious ornament added by the French author, such as when we learn that the king of Persia had a fat and freckly face.<sup>76</sup> Although it is by no means a word-for-word translation of Benoît's text, Egidio Gorra confirmed that Guido includes every addition Benoît makes and excludes his every omission.<sup>77</sup> We have therefore the extremely peculiar situation of a *volgarizzamento* of a vernacular text into Latin. Even though the target language is not *volgare*, the translation is rife with Gallicisms, just as *volgarizzamenti* into Italian from French typically are. For example, Benoît writes: 'Amors de guerre pas ne vient' and Guido follows, as if he did not know the Latin word for war: 'Ex guerra enim amor procedere nunquam potest.'<sup>78</sup> His rare departures from Benoît's

poem probably indicate not that Guido also consulted Dares and Dictys independently, but rather that he may have been using a 'de-rhymed' French prose version of the *Roman de Troie*.<sup>79</sup> It is not a little ironic that Guido's main source was in fact a poem – even if he was using a prose rendition of it – and a modern one at that, full of chivalric elaborations demanded by the fashion of twelfth-century French romance, because he argues for the necessity of his present work on the basis of the mendacity of poets. Like contemporary *volgarizzamenti*, the *Historia* participates in a general shift away from verse when listening gave way to reading and prose began to be championed as conferring greater historical truthfulness.<sup>80</sup>

Conspicuously concerned with truth-telling, Guido begins his history book with a meditation on the corrosive effects of time and the great events that manage to resist it. It is the very greatness of these events that spurs uninterrupted records of them handed down to posterity. It is not a single author responsible for this memorialization, but many. Writers are able to imbue past heroes with imagined virtue 'spiritum ymaginarie uirtutis infundunt', because they themselves have been attentive readers of books 'per librorum vigiles lectiones'. Guido invokes the pen of the copyists themselves ('multorum scribentium calamus') whose faithful transcriptions ('fidei scriptura') and continuous records ('continuis recordiis') have kept the memory of Troy's fall alive in the minds of successive generations.<sup>81</sup>

Such faithful transcribers are set in opposition to others who have 'transumed' the truth into imagined elaboration by means of certain fictions, starting with Homer who feigned many things that were not and altered many that were. In particular, he had the ancient gods fight against the Trojans and be defeated just like living men.<sup>82</sup> Poets who followed upon Homer also wrote misleading things: Ovid and Virgil, for example, who mixed in truth with their inventions, 'unwilling to depart from the fictions of Homer' ('ab Homeri tamen fictionibus noluit in aliquibus abstinere'). Guido names as his reliable sources 'Dictys the Greek and Dares the Phrygian, who were at the time of the Trojan War continually present in their armies and were the most trustworthy reporters of those things they saw'. Those things, he says, will be read in the present little book, having been brought over (*transsumpta*) by him.<sup>83</sup> Guido perceives his own contribution as a preservation of the true accounts of reliable writers 'chiefly for the use of those who read Latin so that they may know how to separate the true

from the false among the things which were written of the said history in Latin books'.<sup>84</sup> His audience is therefore – chiefly – not the illiterate, but the learned.

One might get the impression from these remarks that Guido has done the service of translating these reliable sources from inaccessible languages, such as Greek, for the sake of the Latin-reading West. Yet Dares and Dictys, whatever their Greek origins, were already Latin sources as Guido himself makes clear by passing on the story of their translation. In the prefatory letter to the text of Dares, Cornelius Nepos recounts to Sallust simply that he found the autograph history and translated it.

While I was busily engaged in study at Athens, I found the history which Dares the Phrygian wrote about the Greeks and Trojans. As its title indicates, this history was written in Dares' own hand. I was very delighted to obtain it and immediately made an exact translation into Latin, neither adding nor omitting anything, nor giving any personal touch. Following the straightforward and simple style of the Greek original, I translated word for word.<sup>85</sup>

Guido elides the story to include the discovery of Dictys as well, and repeats Benoît's misunderstanding that Cornelius was the nephew of Sallust.

Benoît had also added the detail that Cornelius came across the manuscript while searching in the closet for books 'of grammar'.

Cil Salustes, ço truis lisant,  
Ot un nevo fortment sachant:  
Cornelius ert apelez,  
De letres sages e fondez.  
De lui esteit mout grant parole:  
A Athenés teneit escole.  
Un jor quereit en un aumaire  
Por traire livres de gramaire.<sup>86</sup>

This Salluste, this I find in reading, had a very learned nephew: he was called Cornelius, wise and grounded in letters. There was much talk about him. At Athens he had a school. One day he was searching in a wardrobe to pull out some books of grammar.

In the context of a French romance, books of grammar are books in Latin or Greek. The qualification *de gramaire* is only necessary within the context of a work written in a language understood as non-grammatical, i.e. the vernacular. Guido leaves out this detail.

In the dedicatory letter of Dares, ‘Cornelius’ establishes the authority of the text by claiming that it is a faithful word-for-word translation of the original manuscript of Dares, written in his own hand. Cornelius tells us only that Dares ‘lived and fought at the time the Greeks stormed Troy’, but Benoît observes that this Trojan soldier would have to be learned as well as valourous in order to leave a record of what he saw, and would moreover have to write in Greek – the learned, grammatical language, and, incidentally, the language of his enemies:

En lui aveit clerc merveillos  
 E des set arz esciëntos:  
 Por ço qu’il vit si grant l’affaire  
 Que ainz ne puis ne fu nus maire,  
 Si voust les faiz metre en memoire:  
 En grezeis en escrist l’estoire.  
 Chascun jor ensi l’escriveit  
 Come il o ses ieuz le veeit.  
 Tot quant q’il faiseient le jor  
 O en bataille o en estor,  
 Tot escriveit la nuit après  
 Icist que je vos di Darès.<sup>87</sup>

In him there was marvellous learning, and he was knowledgeable in the seven arts. Because he saw that the event was so great that neither before nor since was there any greater, for this he wanted to put the events into memory. He wrote the story of it in Greek. Every day he wrote it in this way as he saw it with his eyes. Everything he did during the day either in battle or in the army, he wrote it all down the night afterward – this one of whom I speak, Dares.

Benoît emphasizes the almost immediate connection not simply between word and deed, but between the deeds of Dares and the words Benoît’s French audience will hear. Yet just as Dares lies between the events and Benoît’s poem, between Dares and Benoît there is also Cornelius, ‘who translated it from Greek and brought it over to Latin’:

Mais a Athenes le trova  
 Cornelius, quil translata:  
 De greu le torna en latin  
 Par son sen e par son engine.<sup>88</sup>

But in Athens Cornelius found it and translated it: from Greek he turned it into Latin by means of his intelligence and wit.

Benoît intimates that his own role is merely to make available this text to those who do not understand Latin, protesting several times how closely he has followed the Latin, exactly as he found it.

Le latin sivrai e la letre,  
 Nule autre rien n'i voudrai metre,  
 S'ensi non com jol truis escrit.  
 Ne di mie qu'aucun bon dit  
 N'i mete, se faire le sai,  
 Mais la matire en ensivrai.<sup>89</sup>

I will follow the Latin and the letter, I would not want to put anything else in it, except as I find it written. I don't say that I do not add some good phrases, if I know how, but I will follow the matter of it.

Whereas Cornelius 'translated' (*translata*), Benoît 'put it into romance' (*en romanz metre*):

Que de latin, ou jo la truis,  
 Se j'ai le sen e se jo puis,  
 La voudrai si en romanz metre  
 Qui cil qui n'entendent la letre  
 Se puissent deduire el romanz.<sup>90</sup>

That from Latin, where I found it, if I have the wits and if I can, I would like to put it into romance so that those who do not understand the letter can enjoy the romance.

If, as Guido himself tells us, the task of translation into Latin had already been fulfilled by a 'certain Roman by the name of Cornelius, nephew of the great Sallust, [who] took the trouble to translate these books into Latin', what exactly was the role of Guido da Messina? As Mary Meek points out, he uses the same word *transsumere* to describe both what poets did to the truth of the story (*transsumpserunt*) and what he has himself wrought with reports of the eye-witnesses ('per me iudicem Guidonem de Columpna de Messina transsumpta legentur'). The word seems to imply liberties taken in the first instance, and fidelity to sources in the second. Meek proposes that *transsumere* be understood neutrally as 'to transcribe'. She thus argues that Guido does not claim his work is a translation of Dares and Dictys, but only a 'historical transcription of the history embodied in a work of fiction'.<sup>91</sup> Nonetheless, such 'transcription' implies a movement – either from fact to fiction, as in the case of the poets, or



from fiction back to truth in the case of Guido's unconfessed adaptation of Benoît's romance.

At any rate, Guido certainly does not admit that he is simply remaking a French romance into a Latin history. The conundrum of a Latin 'translation' of Latin sources is justified by the defect of Cornelius (and by extension of Dares and Dictys as transmitted to the Latin West) which, according to Guido, is brevity.<sup>92</sup> Guido's role, then, will ostensibly be to amplify Cornelius' translation on the basis of no named sources. There is a long list of details left out by Cornelius 'which would be more attractive to the minds of his hearers' such as numbers of ships, heraldic devices, names of kings and dukes, exact dates and duration, names of the dead and their slayers, 'about all of which things Cornelius for the most part says nothing', but with which the French romance is replete.<sup>93</sup> Without any citation of a source and no pretence of a return to the Greek originals behind the Latin translation on which he claims to rely, a reader might be left with the suspicion that Guido might have invented all these details. Yet what he is really doing and does not confess is leaving unattributed his real source, to which he is extraordinarily faithful.

Guido was probably not reduced to using Benoît surreptitiously because his named sources were not available. Although the first traces of Dictys in Italy are from the beginning of the fourteenth century, there are seven manuscripts of Dares from before the thirteenth.<sup>94</sup> But Benoît was probably even more readily available. Around 1320, the chronicler Benzo d'Alessandria claims that he did not make much use of Dares, because he only had it piecemeal in compilations, even though it was commonly available in French and indeed sung everywhere in the alleys and squares. Benzo may be referring to Benoît's romance itself, which had certainly been in circulation in Italy since the Duecento. Benzo, like Guido, would be in the position of incorporating into his own Latin narrative (*latinum illud deducere*) either pieces of a text already in Latin or an extended version readily available in French.<sup>95</sup>

Of the thirty surviving complete manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*, at least one third are traceable to Italy, as well as at least four other fragments. Arianna Punzi observes that the role of northern Italy in the reception of the *Roman de Troie* was not just as a locus of production of manuscripts, but also as the place of preservation of copies made elsewhere in Italy.<sup>96</sup> While the Italian manuscripts of the *Troie* copied in Italy are mostly of a high level of professional book-making, some appear to be more home-made.<sup>97</sup> Marc-René Jung noted the peculiarities of a

Florentine manuscript written in 1344 and signed by the scribe, Lucas Boni. The only manuscript of the French *Troie* on paper, 'visibly destined for personal use', it contains many small designs, or doodles, in the hand of the copyist, as well as some blank leaves, but not corresponding to any lacuna in the text. Jung described the French text in this manuscript as 'stuffed with Italianisms' to the extent that the copyist at times seems not to have understood what he was copying. Although this makes it a 'bad' manuscript, Jung noted that this is because the copyist is a genuine reader who skips passages, abridges and occasionally adds interventions of his own.<sup>98</sup>

In addition to production and preservation, Italy was also the primary place where the *Roman de Troie* was reworked into French prose. A rubric on frescoes from the late thirteenth century uncovered during restoration in the Palazzo Manin in Udine demonstrates their dependence on a prose version of the *Roman de Troie*.<sup>99</sup> Of the five surviving prose versions, only one (preserved in a single witness) was produced in French territory.<sup>100</sup> Prose 2 is transmitted in three Italian manuscripts, one written in a Paduan jail by Johannes de Stennis in 1298, another in Verona in 1323 by Pierre Schach for his personal use, and a third traceable to Genoa. This version has been suggested as Guido delle Colonne's immediate source, and it was also used for the fourteenth-century Florentine *volgarizzamento* of the *Troie* by Binduccio dello Scelto.<sup>101</sup> The Pisan version (Prose 3) is preserved in a single complete manuscript from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, as well as in three other thirteenth-century fragments of Italian origin.<sup>102</sup> This version was translated into Florentine in the *Istorietta troiana* and was used as the basis of Prose 5 in the Angevin court in Naples.

The *Istorietta troiana* (Italian version of French prose version) was also used as an additional source in one version of Filippo Ceffi's *volgarizzamento* of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia*.<sup>103</sup> Other *volgarizzamenti* of Guido's *Historia* use other prose versions of the *Roman de Troie*. For example, the so-called *Volgarizzamento di Anonimo*, preserved in six witnesses, seems to make use of the Prose 1 and 2 versions of Benoît's *Troie* in its prologue and elsewhere throughout the translation.<sup>104</sup> Punzi argues that the absolute fidelity of the vernacular translator to the text of Guido in the parts that adhere to the *Historia* suggest that his divergences from it are not his own innovation but are inherited from the tradition of the *Historia*'s transmission, in which the Latin text itself was reworked on the basis of the widely circulating prose versions of Benoît's poem.<sup>105</sup> In other words, the *Historia* never supplanted its source (Benoît's *Troie*),

but, on the contrary, was continually collated with it. Translation and source were constantly compared and reintegrated.

In three manuscripts, Filippo Ceffi's Tuscan translation of Guido's *Historia* is transmitted alongside other texts of Trojan history. In one manuscript already mentioned, it is contaminated with the *Istorietta troiana*, itself based on the Prose 3 version of Benoît; in another two, the Italian rewritings of the Prose 1 version make use of the first part of Ceffi's translation of Guido.<sup>106</sup> In the *Volgarizzamento Corsiniano*, the compiler seems to be using several sources side by side: Guido delle Colonne for the prologue and Prose 1 of the *Troie* for various episodes and certain details not mentioned in the *Historia*. From Prose 1 also derives the concluding passage in which the compiler declares that his text is a translation from Latin which depends in turn on a Greek text found in the library of San Piero – a claim made by several manuscripts of Prose 1, two of which are certainly Italian.<sup>107</sup> More remarkable still, Gallicisms in the passages deriving from the *Historia destructionis Troiae* suggest that this compiler was working not from Guido's Latin, but from a French intermediary – that is, from a French translation of the *Historia*. But the *Historia*, we remember, was itself already a translation of some version of Benoît's French poem.<sup>108</sup> The *Volgarizzamento Corsiniano* is, then, a translation into Italian of a translation into French of a translation into Latin (*Historia*) of a translation into French (*Troie*) of a translation into Latin (Cornelius) of a Greek original. While its writer may not have been as clear about this sequence as modern philologists think they are, he is certainly anxious to mark his text as a translation of a translation.

The fourteenth-century Neapolitan translator of the *Historia*, the oldest attestation of that language, returns to the original cast of the *Roman de Troie* behind Guido's *Historia* when he asserts that the Trojan disasters have been made into 'romances for the people' ('romanzi a la gente') who will never forget to read about them or to make romances of them ('che per nullo tiempo se amentecheranno a legere né a romanzare').<sup>109</sup> De Blasi suggests that this volgarizzamento reverses the direction of Guido delle Colonne's effort to reascend from the vernacular tale to the authentic and authoritative Latin history. Keith Busby notes that other Italian transcriptions of the French romance also tend to play down the love-interest of the romance in general, suggesting a context more *borghese* than *cortese*.<sup>110</sup> But the Neapolitan translator excises the learned bits and amplifies the narrative parts, with frequent addresses to the reader, to make it more like the romance it once was and to appeal more thereby to a courtly audience.

One of the manuscripts of the Neapolitan version is contaminated with Ceffi's Florentine version of the *Historia*, that is to say it moves from translating the *Historia* directly from the Latin to working from another volgarizzamento. This reversion to a prior Italian version, perhaps by the copyist himself, becomes a volgarizzamento of a volgarizzamento of Guido's *Historia* that, as we have seen, is also a kind of paradoxical or reverse volgarizzamento of a French vernacularization (Benoît) of two Latin sources (Dares and Dictys) that insist upon their own status as translations from Greek texts written in the hand of the eye-witnesses themselves.<sup>111</sup>

Punzi concludes that this sort of superimposition of various models results from the simultaneous transmission of the story of Troy in at least three languages on the Italian peninsula – sometimes in the writer's native tongue (or in another Italian dialect), sometimes in French, and sometimes in Latin – and sometimes in more than one in the same text. An important anthology of thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Italian lyrics ascribed to Niccolò de' Rossi (Vatican, ms. Barb. lat. 3953) is in fact preceded in the manuscript by a reworking of the Trojan War (*De excidio et bello troiano*) that makes use of both Dares and Benoît, and probably also Guido delle Colonne. This portion of the manuscript is mostly in Latin, reverting at times to French in those places where the copyist perhaps did not understand his source and also towards the end where the Latin text breaks off completely. The manuscript also contains, in addition to the anthology of Italian poetry, a 'letter from Isolde to Tristan' in Old French and part of a Occitan *canzone* by Gulhelm de Montanhagol.

The notion of multiple authorship that accompanies the story of Troy is visually represented in the final illumination of the 'home-made' mid-fourteenth-century Italian manuscript of Benoît that shows Dictys and Dares seated behind a desk in the act of writing, with Benoît below, dressed as a monk writing in a codex resting on a ledge. The captions emphasize the authority of Dictys and Dares as eye-witnesses (*o ses eus le vit*). Benoît is described as translator of the book from Latin into French 'as you have heard'.<sup>112</sup> Other manuscript illuminations depict the moment of Cornelius' discovery of Dares, where the *aumaire* well-stocked with books takes centre stage.<sup>113</sup> Each successive step of the text's transmission requires a translation. Cornelius translated Dares into Latin; Benoît translated Cornelius into French; anonymous writers (mostly Italian) 'translate' Benoît into French prose; Guido translates Benoît (or one of the French prose renditions of Benoît) into Latin again; subsequent

translators and copyists move between Guido's Latin text, as well as its French and Italian translations, and prose versions of Benoît in order to get the 'whole' story of Troy. In this sort of transmission, sources are authentic (*Dares scripsit, Lucano disse*) but inadequate on their own and need to be translated, explained, compiled, amplified and confirmed.

In the context of cultural exchange traced in this chapter, it is clear that translation is by no means a one-way street – a unidirectional *translatio studii*. Translations are more like readings that accrue to a text and get folded into it by subsequent readers, copyists and translators. Contamination and re-elaboration of texts can be, and in Italy in this period mostly was, motivated not just by the creative impulse of compilers, let alone modern authors ambitious to supplant their predecessors. Rather, it was often the result of many copyists working indiscriminately, or ecumenically, from a variety of transcriptions and versions they had available.

#### CONCLUSION

To return to the opening consideration of this chapter about whether volgarizzamento is a conquest of or a sign of submission to a foreign culture, Terracini concluded that the translator is 'working for everyone but also, ultimately, only for himself'.<sup>114</sup> One of the things that make translations in Italy different, as Cesare Segre observed, is that they were so often 'spontaneous', that is, not sponsored by any patron. As one Italian scribe wrote in a copy of the *Fait des Romains* he was transcribing in French: 'The person whose book this is is the person who wrote it.'<sup>115</sup>

French infiltrated Italian culture in a variety of ways, both pre-literary and literary. French literature was transcribed, composed, translated and imitated in Italy but owed some of its very survival as well as some of its success even in its territory of origin to its Italian reception. Italian literature was written not only on French models, but sometimes actually in French, or some version of it, through the late fourteenth century, and versions of French literature in Italian only gradually removed the Gallicisms with which they were originally riddled. Italian consumption of French culture not only influenced the nascent Italian literature; it also reverberated back into France. It was contemporary with and in some cases arguably *prior* to French reception of French texts. In such a world, the borders between literatures, like nations, were much more fluid than those to which we are accustomed in traditional literary histories. In such a world, translation can go both ways, changing both the source text and

the target language at each turn. It is a situation neither of progressive liberation or conquest, but rather one of 'mutual interference' as Douglas Kelly has said of the relation between Old French literature and its Latin sources.<sup>116</sup>

Finally, though Italians came to translation later than speakers of other European languages, they were precocious as relatively faithful prose translators of single works of antiquity. Indeed the Italian mode of translation, which started so heavily influenced by French intermediaries, eventually became the model for translation in France in the latter half of the fourteenth century, when the project of *volgarizzamento* in Italy was falling out of fashion among the new humanistic literary circles.<sup>117</sup>

*Translation as miracle: illiterate learning  
and religious translation*

In the year 1355, an industrious and successful merchant, landowner and prominent citizen of Siena comes home for lunch. A busy man, finding lunch not ready, he reprimands his wife and maid. To quiet her husband, monna Biagia gives him a book to read containing 'a few lives of holy women', which Giovanni, scandalized, hurls into the middle of the room. Wife tells husband he troubles himself too much over his possessions, despite his prosperity ('Tu hai roba troppa e spesa poca; perché ti dai tanti affanni?') and husband tells wife that while she has only 'legends' to occupy her, he has to get back to the shop. He then picks up the book and sits down only to open it at the 'pleasing story' of Mary of Egypt, the converted prostitute, in whose 'celestial melody' he becomes so engrossed that when his wife calls him to table, he tells *her* to wait. On the evident model of Saint Augustine's fortuitous reading of St Paul under the fig tree (inspired by the memory of St Anthony's conversion upon hearing the Gospel), Giovanni Colombini is thereupon converted by a book to become founder of the ascetic lay order of the Jesuates in Siena.<sup>1</sup>

This story has been examined as evidence of female reading in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> It is also a window on urban lay reading more generally, made possible by vernacular translation: in this case, the anonymous Tuscan version of *Maria Egiziaca*, included among the *Vite dei Santi Padri* translated by Domenico Cavalca, or his team, in the 1330s. In his study of the transmission of this vernacular collection, preserved directly in 191 manuscripts, 57 per cent of which are fragmentary, Carlo Delcorno finds it being read and copied in monasteries, both male and female, but also in the houses of merchants, on the desks of the humanists, preserved in the libraries of noble families and presented in sumptuous illuminated exemplars on the occasion of princely weddings or to illustrious ladies in the courts of Mantua and Ferrara. Isabella d'Este, for example, got herself a copy so that her husband could read it to her during Lent.<sup>3</sup>

In his retelling of the story of Giovanni Colombini's conversion by means of reading, it was the Florentine religious poet and author of *sacre rappresentazioni*, Feo Belcari, who specified that the 'legend of a converted female sinner' was that of Mary of Egypt. Dedicating his work to Giovanni Cosimo de' Medici in 1449, Belcari claims to have written out this Life in the context of other translations of devotional books he had already done for the Jesuate brethren.<sup>4</sup> This Life is also essentially a translation: a vernacular version of a brief Latin biography of Colombini by Giovanni Tavelli da Tossignano from around 1425. So the story of conversion by translation is itself a translation. Moreover, there is some evidence that Belcari was using not the Latin original but a prior anonymous vernacularization compiled and preserved in the Jesuate convent in Florence. Thus, like many Italian translations, Belcari's *Vita* is but a version of an extant vernacularization.<sup>5</sup>

This episode is an appropriate place to begin a consideration of vernacular translation of sacred and devotional texts, first because the conversion scene dramatizes the dissemination of vernacular books in an urban context right at the apex of the age of *volgarizzamento* in Italy. Yet its telling – about a hundred years after the fact – within a fifteenth-century vernacular revision of an extant Life is also evidence that vernacularization, at least in the religious arena, did not come to an end with the rise of humanism even at its epicentre in Florence. Constantly in demand, there was no decline in production of devotional translations between the end of the fourteenth century and the middle of the fifteenth as there was for other kinds of *volgarizzamenti*.<sup>6</sup> The many versions made in the early Trecento were copied, recopied, collected and eventually printed well into the era of the Counter-Reformation.<sup>7</sup> Translations of religious texts, by far the most widely copied and most widely read category of *volgarizzamento*, would make up the totality of some smaller laymen's libraries. The merchant of Prato Francesco Datini wrote in 1395 that he bought many books in the vernacular to read when wearied by business and to pay something towards his debt to God, specifying that all are books that speak of virtuous things, such as the Gospels, the Epistles, the sayings and the lives of all the saints, and many other good things.<sup>8</sup> At Lorenzo de' Medici's residence at Poggio a Caiano, Feo Belcari's Life of the blessed Colombini, dedicated to Lorenzo's uncle Giovanni, is recorded in a 1480 inventory in what was apparently an entirely vernacular collection, containing Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, recent works by Ficino, Burchiello, Pulci, musical manuscripts, a child's psalter, Boethius, a 'little book' on the articles of faith, and the four Gospels that Lorenzo claims to have kept 'in front of' all the others.<sup>9</sup>



In this chapter, I will consider the relative lack of anxiety about rewriting sacred literature, which in Italy seems to have been less than that provoked by the vernacularization of classical works, despite the notorious association of lay reading of the Bible with heresy. Moreover, the culture of illiterate reading – for that is what widespread vernacularization achieved – underlies a new emphasis on translation miracles in contemporary saints' lives or versions of older ones. Boccaccio's Cepperello who, through misinterpretation, becomes Saint Ciappelletto in the first tale of the *Decameron*, is not about vernacular reading per se. But the central preoccupation of this deeply ironic anti-saint's life is the miraculous efficacy of poor, even corrupt, intermediaries between us and God, which is exactly what is at stake in accessible but unauthorized versions of the Book.

#### REWRITING SAINTS' LIVES

Giuseppe De Luca claimed that fourteenth-century Italians had virtually the entire Christian tradition written out in their own spoken tongue.

The Christian tradition is in the Italian vernacular of the Trecento, from the Bible to the Fathers, from the Fathers to the Doctors, from the mystics to the ascetics, from the metaphysicians to the moralists, from the preachers to the theologians, from the hymns to the lauds, from music to painting to architecture (because in texts of literature are to be sought and found the 'instructions' passed onto artists, who were 'authors for the illiterate'), from bishops to monks, from the founders of the Orders to the most remote hermits, from texts from the borders of India and Ethiopia to Celtic texts, from the wisest history to the craziest legend.<sup>10</sup>

Their very prevalence is one of the reasons vernacular versions of religious texts were until recently the least studied of *volgarizzamenti*. In 2003, Dalarun and Leonardi published their monumental *Biblioteca agiografica italiana*: a repertory of saints' lives written in Italian vernaculars before 1500 – most of which, perhaps not surprisingly, are translations.<sup>11</sup> Studies on individual translated books of the Bible have become available as well as the beginnings of critical editions of works as popular and vast as the *Lives of the Desert Fathers* – the collection out of which Giovanni Colombini was reading.

In Italy translation of devotional texts seems to have been undertaken in much the same way and in the same spirit as translation of other French and Latin literary works, which is to say somewhat haphazardly, initiated by readers, built on or compiled with prior versions and continually

tinkered with by enterprising copyists. As we have seen, vernacularization was a work of compilation, commentary and rewriting. It was usually anonymous and explicitly provisional. These general characteristics are shared especially by the genre of saints' lives which always entailed rewriting.

The classroom exercises of paraphrase and rewriting a text, either into another language or into another form or genre, were integral to rhetorical education from classical times. Alison Frazier shows how the rewriting of saints' lives became a humanist preoccupation because 'a literate copyist, especially a layman, might be hard put to restrain his urge to revise an egregiously ungrammatical, infelicitous, or unbelievable saint's life'.<sup>12</sup> It was an activity that engaged not only vernacularizers such as Feo Belcari, but also Latin purists such as Giovanni Garzoni, author of Latin versions of some tales of the *Decameron*, who composed more saints' lives and martyrs' passions than any other fifteenth-century humanist.<sup>13</sup> Frazier shows how the 'tools of humanism' were applied to 'texts and models inherited from medieval devotion'.

Rewriting sacred literature had always been a basic pedagogical exercise in a clerical education. Monique Goullet points out that the single English word 'rewriting' is used for two terms used by French scholars of saints' lives, *récrire* and *remaniement*, the latter of which is clearly pejorative. Until recently, anterior versions of hagiographic texts were always preferred over any number of rewritings, referred to in the scholarship as *remaniements*, or re-elaborations – 'literature of the second degree', to use Gérard Genette's term.<sup>14</sup> The standard excuse for rewriting a sacred text, at least since Carolingian times, was to update its language or style to more modern usage, justified by the very fact that the Vulgate Bible itself is a translated text. Yet Goullet takes this justification with as many grains of salt as she does the professed humility of the authors of these re-elaborations when they submit their work to review by their eventual readers, because much more than language usually gets changed in the new version. Sometimes authors claim they have no written source at all, which, she says, could hardly be true. Goullet suggests these excuses are signs of a bad conscience, an ambiguous relation to the sources which are on the one hand sacred and somehow divine and, on the other, badly in need of modernization to make them palatable to contemporary audiences.

Catherine Sanok has traced how saints' lives had to be rewritten for the different circumstances of their well-born female audience in late medieval England. In particular, virgins' rebellion and resistance to wifely

roles had to be reinterpreted, understood metaphorically and thereby repackaged to suit contemporary social practice. Bella Millet observes how textual instability, or *mouvance*, inheres particularly in devotional works because of the way they were used. For example, general guidelines might be modified to suit particular audiences: solitary anchoresses, nuns in a monastery or married women. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne also notes that transmission of hagiographic texts is peculiar to their nature and function, so that the text in an illiterate culture could serve as a contact relic or holy object to be seen, worn, touched, carried, eaten or pressed against the belly of a woman in childbirth.<sup>15</sup>

#### HERESY AND TRANSLATION

The attribution of magical properties to books and their use is characteristic of societies where literacy is restricted.<sup>16</sup> Vernacular translation of sacred works threatened a clerical monopoly on religious authority grounded in written texts accessible only to their class. The topos of the heretic as illiterate that emerged in the eleventh century tied in with the notion of literacy as the exclusive 'possession and prerogative' of the clergy. Literacy became a social marker, like celibacy, that distinguished religious from lay, *clerici* and *litterati* from *laici* and *illiterati*. Vernacular translation constituted a kind of unauthorized usurpation of a clerical privilege, and heretical movements did often orient themselves around the written word.<sup>17</sup>

Vernacular literacy was essential to Waldensianism, founded by the Lyonnais merchant, Peter Waldo, described as *non multum litteratus*, who was himself converted upon hearing the Life of Saint Alexis sung by a troubadour.<sup>18</sup>

And during the same year, that is the 1173rd since Lord's Incarnation, there was at Lyons in France a certain citizen, Waldo by name, who had made himself much money by wicked usury. One Sunday, when he had joined a crowd which he saw gathered around a troubadour, he was smitten by his words and, taking him to his house, he took care to hear him at length. The passage he was reciting was how the holy Alexis died a blessed death in his father's house. When morning had come the prudent citizen hurried to the schools of theology to seek counsel for his soul, and when he was taught many ways of going to God, he asked the master what way was more certain and more perfect than all others. The master answered him with this text: thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast, etc.<sup>19</sup>

The Dominican Stephen of Bourbon (d. 1261) reports that in the 1190s in Lyons, Waldo commissioned a translation of the Gospels and many books

of the Old Testament into a language described as *romanum*. The text, now lost, was produced for a fee by two clerics: one, described as *grammaticus*, who read and translated, the other, presumably less literate, who wrote down what the first one said.<sup>20</sup> Councils concerned with heresy, such as that of Toulouse in 1229 that prohibited the reading of Scripture by the laity, give testimony of other translations of the Bible into Romance and into German in the early 1200s.<sup>21</sup> Stephen of Bourbon reports that after the translation of the Bible, Waldo

sent his followers, men and women of the lowest occupations, to preach in the surrounding villages. They then prompted others to do the same: men and women, *idiote et illiterati*, who went into the villages, insinuated themselves into families [*domos*] and preached in the open and in the churches.<sup>22</sup>

Reports of heretical activities are a rich source of 'howlers' or vernacular mistranslations of the Bible, such as *beati eritis* in the Sermon on the Mount construed as 'blessed are the heretics', or *sui eum non receperunt* (John 1.2) understood as 'the pigs did not accept him'.<sup>23</sup> The Waldensians were said to vaunt their meagre ability to quote from Scripture in the vernacular, on which they based their claim of superiority not only to laymen but also to priests.

All of their pride resides in the uniqueness they see in the superiority of their knowledge, because they are capable of reciting a few words from the Gospels and the canonical letters off by heart in the vernacular. In this they feel themselves to be superior not only to our laymen but also to our scholars, idiots who are incapable of recognising that a twelve-year-old schoolboy knows a hundred times more than a sixty-year-old teacher of heresy, because the one only knows what has been inculcated by permanent repetition, whereas the other has a philological training which enables him to read a thousand books in Latin and to understand their meaning in all possible ways.<sup>24</sup>

However pig-headed, the underlying principle is important: that knowledge of Latin opens up all available learning, not just Scripture but centuries of its interpretation, classical authors and every branch of science, whereas a pioneering vernacular translation of the Bible is a lonely thing indeed.

#### THE ITALIAN BIBLE

It was the thesis of nineteenth-century French Protestant minister Samuel Berger that the earliest Italian Bible derived from a French or Provençal version produced in Waldensian circles in Southern France. Berger's

assumption was that lay Bible study *only* occurred in heretical circles.<sup>25</sup> His thesis fitted with a Protestant notion of Catholic intolerance of vernacular renditions of the Bible as well as with the French origins of Italian literature in general. The notion of a French Bible underlying an Italian one also squared with Dante's observation in the *De vulgari eloquentia* that French was the language of prose, specifically of biblical and historical compilations.<sup>26</sup> Although Berger's pioneering synthesis is still the basis for work on Italian biblical translation, his general thesis of a single complete Bible translated in heretical circumstances in the early thirteenth century from a French prototype has been abandoned. Since Berger, many previously unknown versions of virtually all the books of the Old and New Testaments have emerged. Versions of the whole Bible Berger had taken to be far older have been shown to be more recent, while single books have been dated further back. Lino Leonardi, while noting these developments, defends Berger's claim that the whole Bible had been translated by the end of the Duecento by taking it to indicate the various disparate translations of individual books, rather than a complete Bible translated as a single project.<sup>27</sup>

For example, a manuscript in the Marciana library, which Berger thought was taken completely from a thirteenth-century French Bible, contains the four Gospels and a vernacular 'Pianto della Vergine'. The *explicit* tells us that it was copied by a Triestine prisoner in Venice in 1369. Its handwriting is mercantile, while its liturgical divisions suggest that the original translator was a Dominican. It includes numerous glosses that are also derived from the French Bible. But, as the most recent scholar of the manuscript observes: one does not write (that is, copy out) heretical texts in prison.<sup>28</sup>

Most of the surviving Italian translations of the Bible are Tuscan redactions of individual books. Unlike early English translations, they are substantially literal and faithful to Latin diction, and although they often include abundant glosses, they avoid adding narrations and lessons that are typical of French versions. Many versions are attested only by a single manuscript, although a lot of different versions look alike. The fact that they resemble each other so much has made it difficult to distinguish versions independent of the others and is part of the reason Berger thought he was dealing with a single translation.<sup>29</sup> The philological difficulties in establishing a critical text for any of the single books translated, that is, in determining whether witnesses are descendants or independent versions, are symptoms of the Bible's very ubiquity. Every transcriber had at the very least some recollection of it in his memory that

could influence his transcription. Consultation of multiple versions during transcription is of course what produces the phenomenon of contamination, fatal to the Lachmannian method of reconstructing a text.

The copyists of the manuscripts are sometimes exceptionally passive, reproducing obvious errors. A most remarkable example of this passivity is one Italian translator's senseless reiteration of the French translator's declaration that he is putting the Book of Proverbs into French: 'Donde noi metremo lo primo in francescho.'<sup>30</sup> But frequently, as one can tell by evident revisions in the manuscripts, it will be the copyist who goes around his vernacular exemplar to the original Latin underneath it – or to his memory of it. In his study of the Tuscan Apocalypse, Lino Leonardi observes that although even the archetype must have already been some kind of reworking of a prior text, around the middle of the fourteenth century versions begin to show traces of more careful revision and verification of the Latin text in the Vulgate.<sup>31</sup>

What Dante's remark about French prose being suitable for compilations of the Bible with the histories of Troy and Rome does suggest is that the vernacular Bible had the status of history, that is, of edifying prose about the past. Translated books of the Bible and lives of saints can be found bound or indeed copied together with historical, rhetorical, and encyclopedic works, many of which do derive from prior French versions. For example, the Italian Apocalypse, made between the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, was probably from a French intermediary, or at least under the influence of a prior French translation. It is included in two manuscript miscellanies, whose resemblance to each other suggests their ordering of texts goes back to a common ancestor. One manuscript (Vatican, Chigi. L.VII.249) from the first half of the fourteenth century presents the *Fiore di rettorica*, a collection of vernacular letters by and to Frederick II, followed by scriptural works (Apocalypse) and saints' lives, an anonymous treatise on rhetoric, an extract from the vernacular version of Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*, and his *Tesoretto*. The other (Riccard. 1538) from the second or third decade of the same century contains a variety of non-devotional texts – from *Fatti di Cesare* to Ciceronian orations translated by Brunetto Latini, the *Tesoro volgarizzato*, *Fiore di rettorica*, *Disticha Catonis*, Albertano and Sallust – bound together with Apocalypse, Matthew and epistles of James and Peter. Leonardi believes that the linking of biblical with historical texts already occurred in French manuscripts that, as in the case of the Apocalypse, are the immediate source for Italian translations of books of the Bible. This combination, particularly with the more typically Italian addition

of rhetorical texts, suggests that biblical translation did not hold any particular status alongside these other texts but served a similar purpose as an exercise in vernacular prose.

One might ask, given the risks inherent in misconstruing the sacred text – and the famous pronouncements of Innocent III against vernacular translation in response to the Cathar and Waldensian heresies – what made so many translations of the Bible possible.<sup>32</sup> Translation of the Bible had been going on in many forms for a long time. As Anthony Pym points out, of the three great religions of the book – Judaism, Christianity and Islam – ‘only Christianity has accorded sacred status to translations of its foundational texts’.<sup>33</sup> Julia Smith retells an eighth-century story of a boy asked to read aloud from the Bible, who is then chastized for being unable to read it out in ‘your own language and in the everyday speech of your family’ which would clearly be a demonstration that ‘you understand what you’re reading’.<sup>34</sup> In Italy biblical translation was connected not so much with heresy (which there also was), but rather with a more generalized demand for vernacular learning from laymen and, in particular, from women both secular and monastic. Gigliola Fragnito observes that vernacularizations of the Bible in Italy enjoyed wide dissemination that was only increased by the advent of printing. Between the first printed translation of the Bible in 1471 and the first Lutheran publications in Venice in 1520, there were sixteen editions of the whole Bible. Only in 1559 with the first universal index was the printing, reading and possession of unlicensed biblical translations in the vernacular explicitly prohibited. Even then, it was not a prohibition of Bibles in the vernacular *per se*, but an insistence on ecclesiastical oversight and authorization of them.<sup>35</sup>

That is not to say there was no anxiety about biblical translation even in the fourteenth century. The Dominican preacher Jacopo Passavanti complained in his vernacular compilation of sermons that ‘everyone is becoming a translator/expositor of scripture’ (*‘E così ogni uomo se ne fa sponitore’*). He says that would-be *volgarizzatori* should ideally have not just Latin but also theology, expert knowledge of Holy Scripture, rhetorical training, practice in the vulgar tongue and real piety. He even recommends forbidding any further translation and advocates the correction of translations that already exist: ‘And it would be very necessary to prohibit any more vernacular translations, and to have those that are already translated corrected by people who know what they are doing.’<sup>36</sup> Passavanti’s rather impatient remark gives the clear sense that translations already abound and more keep coming. Moreover, his tentative prohibition is not that there be *no* translations of the Bible, but that efforts

should be put into improving the ones that already exist. In accusing both the translators (*volgarizzatori*) as well as the copyists, whom he calls 'writers' (*scrittori*), of ignorance, he calls attention to the multiple agents involved in the production of translation.

One can read in certain books of Scripture and of the Doctors, which are translated, but with a great deal of caution [*ma con buona cautela*], because there are many false and corrupt ones, both because of the defects of the writers, who are not commonly of good understanding [*e per difetto degli scrittori, che non sono comunemente bene intendenti*] and because of the defects of the translators [*e per difetto de' volgarizzatori*] who do not understand difficult, subtle, and obscure passages.<sup>37</sup>

This prolific writer in the vulgar tongue would also seem to be sceptical about the expressive possibilities of his native language that, he says, is lacking in vocabulary sufficient to the task ('perché il nostro volgare ha difetto di propj vocaboli'), which makes vernacular translation clumsy, rough and imprecise ('spesse volte rozzamente e grossamente, e molte volte non veramente la spongono').

The prologue to a Tuscan version of the Gospels similarly warns that, in order to vulgarize, a knowledge of Latin is not enough: one needs theology and the commentary 'of the saints' ('Et non basta la sola gramatica ad volghareççare, ma si richede la theologia et spositione de' santi'). The reason is that Scripture is in many places 'truncated' – missing words that must be inferred and supplied to help the illiterate. At the same time, the vulgarizer of these Gospels is concerned about subsequent copyists of his translation adding or changing words.

I pray every one who wants to transcribe this book of the vulgarized Gospels, that he take care to preserve the speech according to the letter as he finds it written, and that he not go changing it, because small syllables and small articles like *Lo*, *La* – *Lo profeta*, *La scriptura* and other such expressions and words and syllables – can change the meaning a lot, more than people might think, when they put them in and take them away. And grammar [that is, Latin] alone is not sufficient to vulgarize, but one needs theology and the exposition of the holy doctors; therefore we say all this so that our effort will not be lost.<sup>38</sup>

The irony of course is that while the vulgarizer has had, of necessity, to change essentially all the words in the original text – which is, after all, Holy Scripture – and has moreover rearranged and added to them, eventual copyists of the present translation are implored rigorously to respect the letter, down to the smallest article. What this translator's remarks suggest, moreover, as modern study of the manuscript tradition



has amply confirmed, is that copyists did quite often second-guess and fact-check the translator, despite the assumption that the *scrittori* are not commonly *bene intendenti*, as Passavanti said (above).

TRANSLATION THROUGH COMMENTARY,  
PARAPHRASE, PREACHING

Versions of Scripture in the first age of Italian translation are ancillary and supplemental, growing out of the expository space of commentary, paraphrase and preaching. As Minnis and Scott point out, in medieval Latin the word *translatio* was often taken to be synonymous with *expositio*, and indeed Italian *volgarizzatori* such as Brunetto Latini and Bono Giamboni refer to their role as that of *sponitore*, someone who explains the text. Lino Leonardi has argued to the contrary that some distinction between translation and exposition did exist, but Valentina Pollidori suggests that particularly in the realm of biblical texts, glossing can be a technique of translation.<sup>39</sup> Paraphrase of religious texts is a widespread genre in early Italian literature, from a Ferrarese *Ave Maria*, to a Lombard *Pater noster*, to the vernacular *Credo* (falsely) attributed to Dante.<sup>40</sup>

Vernacular preaching, which got its start in the early Middle Ages as simple translation of Scripture, became with the mendicants in the thirteenth century an elaborate project of vertical transmission of learned culture, on a par and in conjunction with the vernacularization movement. The Englishman Thomas Waleys was surprised during his stay in Bologna and Arezzo in the first years of the Trecento to observe that Italian preachers used the whole Gospel reading of the day as the subject of their sermons (rather than a brief *thema* as was the 'modern' method of preaching) which they preached to the people, not to the clergy.<sup>41</sup> Preaching moreover spawns the need for the translation of other 'preachable material', which motivated translations and compilations of moral, didactic, biblical, hagiographic – and ultimately classical works. A good example of this is Bartolomeo da San Concordio's *De documentis antiquorum*, which he translated himself into the enormously popular *Ammaestramenti degli antichi*. The organization of quotations from pagan and Christian authorities under various themes suitable for sermons and the addition of a translated treatise on memory (originally from Giamboni's *Fiore di rettorica*) make it a handbook especially convenient for vernacular preachers.<sup>42</sup>

Bartolomeo da San Concordio was a member of the Dominican convent of Santa Caterina of Pisa that produced a series of important

vernacular preachers and religious writers. Because both the Dominicans and the Franciscans were actively involved in urban preaching and vernacular translation, they had an enormous impact on the development of the Italian language. Vernacular preaching had of course been around at least since it was legislated at the Council of Tours in 813, prescribing that sermons should be delivered 'in rusticam Romanam linguam'. But until the *reportationes* of a Dominican preacher's Lenten sermons in Florence in 1302, we have no written records of them. It is in Italy, in the age of vernacular version, that oral preaching becomes vernacular text.

The Dominicans' self-presentation as defenders of orthodoxy against heretical propaganda involved their placing themselves as mediators of clerical and scholastic Latin to the laity; in other words, as vernacular translators. In his transcribed sermons of 1302, which Lina Bolzoni describes in fact as *volgarizzamenti*, Giordano da Pisa cites Scripture in Latin and then translates it before expounding it.<sup>43</sup> He preached his Lenten sermons in the Dominican *studium* of Santa Maria Novella, which had been educating lay people at least since the time of Dante, who says he studied there, as well as at the Franciscan counterpart in Santa Croce across town.<sup>44</sup>

Delcorno sees the Franciscans, who came out of the very society of Italian communes to which they were preaching, as more reliant on popular literalism than on the clerical systems of interpretation used by the Dominicans. Their popularizing style was influenced by contemporary political speechifying, from the first example of Francis himself who is reported to have recommended speaking not in the way of the preachers, but more in the style of harangue ('*nec tamen ipse modum praedicantis tenuit, sed quasi concionantis*').<sup>45</sup>

Dominican preachers used the Latin handbooks of the *artes praedicandi* and scholastic rhetorical argumentation, which they simplified for the vernacular audience. Giordano da Pisa was said to have a massive storehouse of scholastic texts in his memory, including a good portion of the *Summa Theologica*, which he popularized in his sermons.<sup>46</sup> For example, we find him describing charity as a 'form' in the soul, going on to explain that the 'wisemen call form that virtue which is in all things through which they make all their operations'.<sup>47</sup> The preaching of scholastic subtleties was evidently widespread enough for a more popular-minded Dominican to decry the practice. Domenico Cavalca, in a treatise compiled from his own sermons, accuses such individuals of 'refusing to preach the examples and miracles of the saints, saying that they are

childish and womanish things, not realizing that such things are most useful in changing the hearts of sinners'.<sup>48</sup> In another context, Cavalca criticizes those who

pride themselves on their reputation but often omit to preach useful and necessary things in favour of subtleties, novelties and their philosophies, which are of no help to their listeners but on the contrary lead them into questioning and error, and they leave untouched their vices that needed to be cut out and healed.<sup>49</sup>

Even more reprehensible are illiterate people who presume to teach others:

And if this is reprehensible in literate and knowledgable men, it is nonetheless far more to be reprimanded in some haughty unlettered folk who, without knowing how to ply even any manual trade, presume to speak and to take on the depths of Scripture.<sup>50</sup>

The fundamental theme of Dominican preaching is the fight against heresy, using the medium associated with it: vernacularized Scripture. This produced a certain ambivalence about vernacularization because it would seem to make sacred things available to every untutored artisan and, still worse, to women.

What a great danger there is in man having to instruct others! But the greatest danger of all is to teach the Holy Scripture, in the Epistles and the Gospels, because to those belong salvation and perdition. There are many crazy people – cobblers, furriers – who would like to explain [or translate] Holy Scripture. Great boldness, and too great offence is theirs! And if this is true of men, so it is all the more true of women, because women are too much farther than men from the Scriptures and from Latin learning [*la lettera*]. There are some women who make themselves expositors [or translators] of the Epistle and of the Gospel. Great is their folly! Too great is their foolishness [*scipidezza*].<sup>51</sup>

Delcorno describes Giordano's preaching as a 'vertical' translation between the Latin of the scholastics and the vernacular of the laity. Apart from Giordano's own divulgative practices, the transcriptions we have must have been reduced and deformed by copyists and compilers who were not passive stenographers but rather those practically minded members of his audience: merchants, artisans and bankers who engaged actively with the text of the sermons.<sup>52</sup> Mendicant preachers appealed to this material and social reality of their audience, taking on the subjects and vocabulary of commerce and usury. In one sermon Giordano talks of the real bargain God offers us.

Now in this way God wants to bargain with us, but in the bargain that we make with him, we deceive him greatly . . . Now that you have something of the world, how much will you give for it? It is nothing, and therefore this is a profitable bargain; we give nothing and we have such great glory; we give away anguish and we have peace; we give away bitterness and pain and worry and we have highest *requiem*. Now that's a good deal!<sup>53</sup>

Likewise, in another sermon Giordano talks of Mary as a good merchant 'who gave away bad things to have better ones; she gave away the delights of the world to have eternal ones'.<sup>54</sup> In his translation of the life of Saint Anthony, Domenico Cavalca similarly elaborates on the suggestion of 'commerce' in the Latin when Anthony reminds his monks that the recompense of eternal life, in contrast to what happens in commercial transactions, is not measured according to merits.

In this present life prices are equal to the goods; so that we see that when someone wants to buy something, he does not give more than it seems to him to be worth. But it does not happen like that in the realm of heaven, because through the munificence of God man receives infinite reward and joy for brief service.<sup>55</sup>

Thus the thematics found in the sermons in the squares resurface in the translations.

Domenico Cavalca, to whom are attributed many more translations than he could possibly have authored, acknowledges modestly in a prologue to another translation (of Gregory's *Dialogues*) that although with his limited understanding he can provide nothing of use to the wise and literate, he thought to provide something useful at least to a few idiots – that is, to people ignorant of Latin.

Because, as St Paul says, I am beholden to both the wise and the simple, and also because, as a religious person of poverty [i.e. a mendicant], I live from the alms of all, and seeing that with my paltry understanding I could not be useful to the wise and the literate, and not being able to pay this debt to the wise because I am poor in knowledge, so that I would not be presented before God as completely useless, at least for the utility of a few unlettered people, unwise in Scripture, I had thought to bring into the vernacular the *Dialogue* of St Gregory, which is especially useful among devotional books.<sup>56</sup>

He explains that he has had to change the arrangement of the original, because some things that seem well said in the Latin, when put in the same order in the vernacular seem nothing at all.<sup>57</sup> In Latin a small word can bear much meaning, whose understanding cannot be drawn out without using many words in the vernacular; but at the same time, a more 'beautiful meaning' can sometimes be brought out in the vernacular by abbreviating the original even drastically.<sup>58</sup>

Cavalca confesses that although he has not strictly followed the Latin word order, he has at least set out as best he can the sense and intention of the book, trying to follow the words where he can.<sup>59</sup> Interestingly, he calls to his defence what Saint Gregory himself says about liberties taken in his own prologue to the text Cavalca is translating. Gregory says that he does not intend to follow the order of the words told to him, but to relate their meaning in the most pleasant way.<sup>60</sup>

In editing his oral sources in the *Dialogues*, Gregory had the same preference of his fourteenth-century translator for 'sense' over 'words'. And in a similar tactic of justification by authorities, Gregory compares his own work of transcription and editing with that of the Gospel writers themselves, who wrote down what they heard, rather than copying what they saw in a written text ('non uisu sed auditu').

I shall not hesitate to narrate what I have learned from worthy men. In this I am only following the consecrated practice of the Scriptures, where it is perfectly clear that Mark and Luke composed their Gospels, not as eye-witnesses, but on the word of others. Nevertheless, to remove grounds for doubt on the part of my readers, I am going to indicate on whose authority each account is based. You should bear in mind, however, that in some instances I retain only the substance of the original narrative; in others, the words as well.

Gregory, evidently like the evangelists, cannot be expected to remember all the particulars; and even if he should happen to recall exact words, he would still change them because of their unbecoming rusticity (*rusticano usu*).

And besides, if I should have been so curious as to have kept in mind each man's particular words, many, uttered after the country manner, would have made the style of my discourse nothing handsome nor seemly.<sup>61</sup>

In this respect Gregory's task – to translate from his sources' inelegant vernacular into the eloquence of the literary language – is the exact opposite of the fourteenth-century vulgarizer who says he has nothing to offer 'but gross and very common things' of use only to the simple.

And even though it is certain that this work can be blamed, for my part, I did not want to abandon doing it for the utility of the simple . . . In the building of the tabernacle, which is the holy Church, it was held that everyone should offer what he could according to his station; . . . so, because of poverty of capacity and knowledge, I do not know how nor am I able to offer anything but gross and very common things.

And in what might appear as further grovelling, but is so common as to be considered a topos of translators, Cavalca asks future readers to improve upon both the content and the language of his work.

And if anyone finds fault in either meaning or in the vernacular language, let him blame the roughness of my understanding and of my language, and let him correct it or have it corrected with charity.<sup>62</sup>

Another translator of a devotional text, *La scala del Paradiso*, similarly apologizes for his ignorance, not of Latin nor of theological doctrine, but of the vernacular into which he is translating it ('de' vocabboli volgari ne so' ignorante').<sup>63</sup>

This vernacular version, by an Umbrian Franciscan, Gentile da Foligno, is based on the Latin translation of John Climacus' *Ladder of Divine Ascent* made by the leader of the Spiritual Franciscans, Angelo Clareno, who was able to perform this feat of translation thanks to a miraculous gift of the Greek language he received on Christmas Eve, 1300.<sup>64</sup> Gentile complains also about the capacities of the vernacular language itself, in which he has already said he has little expertise:

And also because high and spiritual things cannot be properly expressed in vernacular words as they can in Latin and in grammatical languages, because of the penury of vernacular words, because every district has its own vernacular words, which are different from those of other towns and other districts; but this is not true of grammatical languages and of Latin.<sup>65</sup>

A second prologue to the *Scala di Paradiso* exists, copied alongside the first one in at least one manuscript, in which an early fifteenth-century copyist, Cristofano da Toscanella, criticizes other *scrittori*, less scrupulous than himself:

Books in vernacular are commonly used by unlearned people who do not know Latin [*persone idiote e senza gramatica*], and for their benefit they were put into the vernacular by capable men. Among other [texts], this one is very much desired by devout and spiritual people. Many of these books have come into my hands in this Tuscan language, which I found much ruined through the failing of ignorant writers, badly understood in the words, and with glosses mixed up with the text, without distinguishing marks; which I repute a great failing, even if it stems from ignorance.<sup>66</sup>

This copyist has taken on the humanist preoccupation of castigating the accumulated accretions of previous reader-writers from the 'pure' text, by separating out text from gloss:

And so that the involuntary errors that I have committed be recognized and corrected, with my permission, by anyone who knows more about it, I have added to all the glosses, facing them in the margins of the book a pointed 'c' in cinnabar, so that the text and the old glosses will be in liberty.<sup>67</sup>

Similarly, a heavily glossed version of the Gospels from before 1354, preserved in five Tuscan manuscripts, contains a prologue in which the *chiosatore* explains that he has underlined things that have been added, 'so that one can recognize which word is in the text and which one not'.<sup>68</sup> As Cristofano suggests, the translators may be skilled, but the people they do it for are generally not so. Yet one of the things his prologue tells us is that those same unlearned people, though undoubtedly devout and spiritual, subsequently become the unskilled writers (*scrittori*) of the text. They misunderstand the words (here, it must be the *vernacular* words) and fail to distinguish between gloss and text. Yet perhaps these reader-writers, who perceived the vernacular version to be an exposition, had understood the text to *be* a gloss.

#### THE THEME OF ILLITERATE LEARNING

In the Tuscan version of the Life of Mary of Egypt that Giovanni Colombini took up during his lunch hour in 1355, he could have read not only how little Mary ate, and how few clothes she wore, but how versed she was in Holy Scripture – without knowing how to read or even having any access to books. In the Tuscan version she says:

But my food and my clothing are the word of God. And truly I am proof that, as Christ said, 'man does not live by bread alone, but in every word, that proceeds from the mouth of God'. And she began to cite Scripture, wanting to show that he who is stripped of the clothing of wickedness is well dressed and defended by God.<sup>69</sup>

In comparison with the Latin, there are some subtle differences. Cavalca's version adds introductory material to her quotation of Scripture, the indication that she is citing Scripture, and a gloss ('wanting to show that he who is stripped of the clothing of wickedness is well dressed and defended by God').<sup>70</sup> The hermit Zozima, sole earthly witness of her sanctity, is amazed at Mary's citation of Scripture and, in this version, asks her whether she knows how to read ('Or mi di', sai tu leggere?')<sup>71</sup> In the Latin text, he asks her not whether she knows how to read, but whether she learned the psalms or other sacred books of Scripture, and she responds that she has seen no man since passing over the Jordan.<sup>72</sup> Where the Latin focuses on her lack of human contact (or male teacher), the Italian translator emphasizes her lack of access to letters and books ('mai libro non ebbi'), and her inability to read at all, not just her lack of contact with the books of Scripture.

And she responded: 'Believe me, man of God, that since I entered into this desert, I have not seen either beast nor other animal nor any man other than you, and I never had a book, nor did I read, and I never learned letters from any man; but the Son of the living God has taught me, who can teach wisdom to everyone.'<sup>73</sup>

Illiterate wisdom is also a theme in the Life of Saint Anthony, who was converted not by reading but by hearing the Gospel read aloud in Church.<sup>74</sup> Despite his illiteracy, he nonetheless confounds the foreign philosophers who come to examine him. Because he can see by their appearance that they are pagan, he takes along an interpreter.

One time two pagan philosophers, hearing that Anthony was a man without letters and nonetheless spoke subtly and did and said great things, and thinking themselves able to beat him with words and philosophical arguments, they came to him to tempt him with words. When Anthony saw them, by their very look he knew that they were pagan, and because they were not of his language, he spoke to them through a translator.<sup>75</sup>

Anthony's technique is to argue that by their very visit to him they have demonstrated the wisdom of what he professes.

And he said: 'Why have such wise men come such a long way with such great effort to see a stupid and unlearned man?' And when they answered that they thought him wise, not stupid, he said: 'If you have endured such great hardship to come here while believing me stupid, your coming is in vain, and if you think me wise, since wisdom is so great a good, and man must reasonably follow good things, follow my life and my teaching.'<sup>76</sup>

The words 'for stupid and unlearned' (*stolto e idiota*) are a dittology or hendyadis (typical of vernacular translation) to render the single Latin adjective *stultum*.<sup>77</sup> *Idiota* means not stupid, but unlettered – and it applies not only to Anthony but to the readers of this and all *volgarizzamenti* explicitly made for the use of idiots ('per utilitate almeno d'alquanti idioti; persone idiote e senza gramatica').<sup>78</sup>

In the following episode, Anthony's lack of book learning is explicit also in the original. In his next exchange with more wise men who have heard that Anthony does not know his letters, the saint asks them what comes first – *sensus* or *litterae*? The wise men respond that *sensus* was the author and inventor of letters ('Illis asserentibus quia sensus esset auctor atque inventor litterarum').<sup>79</sup> Cavalca first translates *sensus* as 'rational intellect', then as 'reason'.

'Answer me', he said to them, 'Which was first: the rational intellect or writing? and which was the reason and beginning of the other? reason or writing?' And



when they responded that reason and human sense were first and made writing, Anthony said, 'Therefore those who have pure and clear reason have no need of writing.'<sup>80</sup>

Late medieval Tuscan does use the cognate *senso* for human sense or reason; for example in the *Vita nova* (25.8), Dante argues that poets can portray inanimate things as if they had sense and reason ('sì come se avessero senso o ragione').<sup>81</sup> Yet a motive, perhaps, for not using the term *senso* in this context is that it also can be used to indicate 'meaning', as in Dante's discussion of the allegorical senses of Scripture in the *Convivio*.<sup>82</sup> In other words, *senso* and *scrittura* are terms that, when paired, evoke the very problem of interpretation and, especially, translation. Seen against this background, Anthony's privileging of *sensus* over *litterae* is reminiscent of the translators' age-old insistence on extracting meaning rather than adhering to the letter – a parallel that Cavalca avoids by not translating *sensus* as *senso*.

#### TRANSLATION MIRACLES

The ancient desert hermits' illiterate wisdom gains a new resonance in translations made for the *non letterati*. Book-learning without letters is ultimately what vernacular versions promise. Christine Cooper has shown that the gift of tongues, visited on saints since the first Pentecoste, commonly manifested itself during this period as an ability to read and write foreign languages, not just speak and understand them.<sup>83</sup> The gift of Greek to Angelo Clareno in 1300 that enabled him to translate John Climacus' *Scala Paradisi* into Latin is one example. Another is Clare of Montefalco (d. 1308), an Augustinian nun, whose illiteracy did not prevent her from comprehending written texts very well.

Although Clare was not an educated woman, she proved her great ability to understand the scriptures, as well as the burning divine love in her soul, by the exemplary character of her life and by her doctrinal instruction of those who approached her. The discourses of the learned seemed as nothing in comparison with her words. In ways beyond the scope of the human intellect, she understood the Scriptures, and this with such penetration that she could discourse wonderfully on any point, even the smallest, and speak of it in profound ways. Before the death of her sister, she had spoken rarely and with the utmost brevity, but now, in virtue of the office she had been given, she instructed the sisters correctly and often.<sup>84</sup>

Later in life, she obtained permission to use a breviary, from which she taught other nuns to read and recite the divine office.<sup>85</sup>

Three years before her death, Clare acquired permission to use the breviary, and she ordered that the divine office be always said in the monastery according to the usage of the Roman Church. Beginning with herself, she said it devoutly, and she taught the other nuns to read and recite it. It is said that she possessed this knowledge as infused by God rather [than] having acquired it through practice in reading, because even though it is recorded that as a child she had learned seven psalms in a morning, but nothing more, that certainly did not enable her to know the office by her natural powers; moreover, even if she had known it, so long a time had passed that she must have forgotten it, especially since up to this point there had never been office books in the monastery. That Clare's knowledge was inspired by God could easily be appreciated by various experts, since on other occasions, despite not having read books or learned the disciplines, she gave exhaustive answers to readers and to theologian-preachers regarding doubtful points and profound questions. From this time forward, she recited the office in the proper order, rarely looking at the book, even when she had not learned it, and she taught the nuns.

Catherine of Siena (d. 1380), said to be a poor student of Latin, also received the gift. Her biographer, Raymond of Capua, recounts how, after failing to learn the alphabet after being tutored for several weeks by a fellow nun, she arose from fervent prayer to discover an ability to read Latin Scripture fluently, even though she still could not sound out the syllables.<sup>86</sup>

Jane Tylus has recently re-focused our attention on the question of whether Catherine could write as well as read. In a letter rediscovered by her eighteenth-century champion, Girolamo Gigli, Catherine writes to Raymond how one night she miraculously acquired the ability to write ('l'attitudine dello scrivere'). She explains that to her own great astonishment she has written the letter with her own hand, having been shown how to in a vision in which God fixed it or formed it in her mind by giving her a model to copy, just as the teacher does with the boy ('per amirabile modo me la formò [fermò] nella mente mia, sì come fa el maestro al fanciullo, che gli dà l'esempio').<sup>87</sup> This reference to pedagogical practice is intriguing because, despite the new currency of the vernacular as a written language, according to Robert Black it was never used at the elementary stages of learning to read.<sup>88</sup> Another biographer, Tommaso Caffarini, recounts a further episode in which Catherine, wanting to write down a prayer, 'got hold of a pot in which a scribe had prepared cinnabar for writing and illustrating letters. She took the quill and a small sheet of paper. Although she had minimal training in writing, she sat down and began to write in clear letters in her vulgar tongue on the sheet of paper.'<sup>89</sup> In both cases, the miracle consists not

simply in learning to write but in learning to write directly in the vernacular, whereas any normal schoolboy would have cut his teeth on a Psalter or some other Latin text. Even when she was not writing for herself, Catherine had her thoughts set down in the vernacular. Tylus argues for Catherine's pivotal role in moving the vernacular from a *lingua parlata* to a *lingua scritta*, but there is no question that this movement was already under way in her time and place.

Catherine's sex made her by definition illiterate, despite the miracles of learning to read Latin and write in the vernacular and despite the hundreds of missives of which she is presumed the author. Thomas Luongo suggests that Catherine's authenticity as a saint depends upon her lack of authorial control over her utterances and writings.<sup>90</sup> Her illiteracy was clearly important to Raymond of Capua who wanted to emphasize her supernatural inspiration; indeed, he never mentions the letter written to him in her own hand. Caffarini, on the other hand, was active in promoting vernacular reading among women, composing and producing vernacular versions of the lives of holy women in the region. One of them, Maria Sturion, learned to write not through a miracle but 'at Caffarini's urging and with his assistance'.<sup>91</sup>

Despite the ready availability of devotional texts in the vernacular, Raymond makes a point of Catherine's having had a miraculous education much like that of Mary of Egypt herself. He tells how as a small child she had become familiar with the lives of the desert fathers, though she had neither read them, nor heard any man speak of them. In his account, the girl is inspired by this non-reading to go out and find the desert for herself, wandering well outside the city gates where the houses stood apart from each other. She finds a convenient grotto under a bank and is rewarded for her fervent prayer and ascetic desire with a prolonged levitation and, finally, a free ride back to her father's house, which she decided would have to suffice, for her, as a desert. In similar fashion, the thirteenth-century Florentine mystic Umiliana de' Cerchi is reported to have cried out, 'O God, why am I not in the desert, so that I could freely devote myself to you?' and to have 'brought the desert into her father's house'.<sup>92</sup>

These women's accommodation of ancient ascetic ideals to modern life in the city is in itself a kind of translation similar to the mendicant preaching through which, as Carlo Delcorno observes, the desert could become portable, internal, transferable, and remain nonetheless real. In the Tuscan Life of Mary of Egypt, the word for 'desert' is translated simply as 'solitude'. Giordano da Pisa told his audience gathered in the

square before the convent of Santa Maria Novella that monks by their calling belong outside the city, in solitary places ('ai deserti') in contemplation of God.

I want you to know, said Friar Giordano, that it does not suit us to dwell among you in the city because monks, and we are all monks, must dwell outside cities, in deserts, in solitary places to contemplate God. It is not fitting for us to be here, but it is for the best that we stay here, so that we help you . . . Even if we get a little dusty . . . we do all this for your good.<sup>93</sup>

The monks come into town to preach to 'give you peace', Giordano says, 'and to make you participants'.

The lecturer said: – Our movement is also for you. We seek out the cities and go around preaching also for you, to give you peace and make you participant in it. We would much rather stay in our cell and not come out and we would have much more repose – he said: – I would very much like to be in my cell now for many years and not come out, and it would be very pleasing and very useful.<sup>94</sup>

Yet lay people, too, are encouraged to seek out the 'desert' for themselves.

This desert can be your cell, your house. Make so that you flee the world and people. Christ gives you an example of this, and therefore it is necessary for those who want to survive that they all go out from the world either by going to the desert, or to religion, or fleeing people in whatever way you can.<sup>95</sup>

Communicating religious asceticism to a well-off, urban, mercantile society was to translate the desert into the city.

In conclusion, vernacular translation is a religious theme of this period, not just a bibliographic fact. Feo Belcari introduces his rewriting of an already extant vernacular translation of the Latin Life of Giovanni Colombini in the context of translation work he had already done for the Jesuate order. The all-important conversion scene of this contemporary spiritual leader is an encounter not just with a book, but with a modern vernacular translation, pointedly presented as female reading. The *legghenda* contained in a book in the domestic library of a merchant's wife, chosen as if by chance, is the story of an illiterate woman whose years of solitude in the desert bring her, among other things, the ability to quote from Scripture without the assistance of books, teachers or even a basic knowledge of letters. The translator of the collection in which it is found (*Vite dei santi padri*) presents it as a book for illiterates. Learning without letters was a miracle for these times. Vernacular translation, happening continually and everywhere, was a modern pentecostal gift.

Devotional translation both was and was not a new thing. The rewriting of saints' lives was an old practice, typically justified by linguistic modernization, and it would remain an important activity even beyond the age of vernacularization among the humanists. Glossing and preaching were ways of 'getting around' the problem of biblical translation, which then grew out of these explanatory, expository modes. Italian translation is said to be more conservative, less exuberant and, hence, more faithful than French translation in the early period. But this very desire to adhere to the sources, to get it right, creates its own phenomena of contamination and borrowing that make the surviving witnesses poor tools for textual reconstruction – and rich traces of vernacular reading.

#### THE TRANSLATION OF SER CEPPARELLO DI PRATO

Finally, I would like to suggest that this background of new mediations of religious piety is also suggestive for the first and programmatic tale of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The inaugural story of the *Decameron* is about faulty intercessors between ourselves and God, whom Boccaccio calls *procuratori*.<sup>96</sup> Cepparello, based on a historical personage, goes from being an agent hired to collect on French debts for an Italian businessman, chosen for his profound wickedness, to a saintly intercessor for the same credulous Frenchmen who are convinced, after a masterful false confession to a similarly credulous friar, of his sanctity. Critics at least since Benedetto Croce have observed that the story is ultimately about Cepparello's artistry, in particular literary artistry, the power of rhetorical persuasion or indeed of fiction. It also has a serious religious point, which is to insist upon the possibility of our own salvation even by means of corrupt intercessors.<sup>97</sup> Its focus is on mediation.

Cepparello is in his last job quite literally a procurer, a go-between, since he is hired to collect on French debts for the Italian merchant Musciatto Franzese, recently returned to Italy. One of the many ironies of the story is of course that it is Cepparello's very faithlessness that makes him an ideal agent for Musciatto among the Burgundians, also described as wicked and faithless.<sup>98</sup> The friar who comes to confess him when Cepparello becomes deathly ill, while perhaps duped by a false confession, is also a figure of mediation. As critics have noted, the simple friar reverses the initial problem as presented in the preamble to the novella because in this case there is a good procurator and a bad suppliant, as Cepparello asks the friar repeatedly to pray for him. In the preamble we have been assured that God hears our prayers even if they are mistakenly directed to

denizens of Hell whom we wrongly think sainted, but the sincerity and authenticity of a deceived *procuratore* presumably do not help the damned.<sup>99</sup> Although he cannot get Cepparello saved if his repentance is not sincere, the friar is marvellously effective in reversing his reputation (and with it that of his money-lending Lombard hosts) to the point of producing a new local cult, in which multitudes of the faithful invoke the assistance of 'Saint Ciappelletto' for their own salvation.<sup>100</sup>

There remains the possibility, of course, that Cepparello is indeed saved, though the narrator Panfilo doubts it, because he might have repented truly even at the last instant, *in articulo mortis* – as did Dante's ante-Purgatorial characters, Bonconte da Montefeltro and Manfred, whose 'horrible' sins are almost certainly deliberately echoed in the characterization of Cepparello.<sup>101</sup> There are some hints in the story that such a change is plausible, for example when Cepparello begins his service in Burgundy, he is said to carry out his mandate 'benignly and tamely' in a way contrary to his nature.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, although the false confession might be motivated simply by his perverse pleasure in doing evil things (as when he gladly went to any homicides to which he was invited),<sup>103</sup> it is marvellously disinterested, since no benefit whatever of the fraud can fall to him, and his suffering for it is not only assured and eternal, but imminent. He does it purely for the benefit of others, making an enormous gesture of charity, at great cost to himself, in his last act. Yet Cepparello's ultimate wishes, like the sincerity of the person praying to God through a false saint such as Ciappelletto seems to be, are off the page ('questo n'è occulto'): they are known only to God. The authentic reality of the individual is as unknowable, at least in this life, as the mind of God. We are left only with doubtful intermediaries.

Cepparello is a go-between, a procurer, for Musciatto Franzese, for the Florentine brothers, for the enthusiastic friar and the eager worshippers. That this notion of mediation is an important if not the most important theme of the book is confirmed by the *Decameron's* subtitle, 'Principe Galeotto', in reference to the knight who brought Lancelot and Guinevere together, and to the book on that subject that brought Dante's Francesca to Paolo and thereby to damnation. Boccaccio styled himself a literary mediator throughout his career, from his own probable work of translation to the fictional works where, as Jonathan Usher puts it, 'providing a go-between for difficult poetic texts generally became Boccaccio's principal scholarly occupation', to the later Latin handbooks of the *Genealogia Deorum*, *De mulieribus* and the *De montibus*. In an influential book,

Francesco Bruni summed up the whole of Boccaccio's literary achievement as the 'invention of go-between literature'.<sup>104</sup>

Recently Boccaccio's Cepparello has come to be seen as based upon Dante's Brunetto Latini. Unlike the historical Cepparello Dietaiuti, Boccaccio's fictional Ser Cepparello and Dante's Ser Brunetto are both notaries and both sodomites.<sup>105</sup> One could suggest further that they were both operative in the French language and that they were both translators. Indeed the rascal Cepparello, whose name means 'small stump', is already transformed into something better on his visits to Musciatto's house in Paris because of the French people's mistranslation of his name.

... one Ser Cepparello of Prato, who frequented his house in Paris. Because he was small in size and very tidy, and because they did not know what 'cepparello' [*small stump*] meant, believing that it meant 'cappello' [*hat*], that is 'garland' in their vernacular, the French called him not 'Ciappello', because he was very small as we have said, but 'Ciappelletto'. And he was known as Ciappelletto everywhere where few knew him as Cepparello.<sup>106</sup>

The story of Cepparello which initiates not only the whole *Decameron*, but a series of four tales on the First Day dealing with the question of religious truth and falsity, thus begins with the issue of horizontal translation – between French and Italian – and the misunderstandings that even such close linguistic transfer can produce. Yet the point of the story also seems to be that defective translations can nonetheless be effective, in fact, salvific. This is a Dantesque theme, most famously in the purgatorial episode of Statius' fortunate misreading of the *Aeneid*, but also, as I intend to show in the next chapter, in the infernal indictment of Ser Brunetto – translator – for sodomy. Vernacular translations, with all their corruptions and contaminations, could nonetheless be perfectly efficacious intercessors – like Boccaccio's Cepparello, transformed, in part via linguistic ignorance, into Saint Ciappelletto.

*The treasure of the translator: Dante  
and Brunetto*

In a treatise entitled 'Fruits of the Tongue', which grows out of what he admits is almost entirely a translation taken from 'Guglielmo di Frenchia' (William Peraldus, *Summa de vitiis*), Domenico Cavalca describes preachers who want only to show off to educated audiences as 'adulterers of the word':

And if they do preach, they do not want to preach except to a great people, and to honourable and literate persons, to show off their knowledge more than to teach the way of God. These, as St Paul says, are adulterers of the word of God in that, as Saint Gregory says, they do not scatter the seed of the word of God to engender spiritual sons of God, but to have temporal glory or gain for themselves.<sup>1</sup>

These show-off preachers are also described as those 'great literary men without conscience' who are the 'worst men in the world' ('gli peggiori uomini del mondo sono li grandi letterati senza coscienza').<sup>2</sup> Although it is important for men to have sufficient knowledge in order to teach others, Cavalca reminds his reader that Augustine says that many saints were perfect in the desert, however unlearned ('quantunque idioti').<sup>3</sup> The enterprise of vernacularization, of which the *Frutti* are a part, is for the benefit of the unlearned, as Cavalca often repeats: 'I as a simple person speak in the vernacular to simple and unlearned men' ('io come semplice parlo in volgare per uomini semplici ed idioti').<sup>4</sup> In contrast with the vain perversions of language of ostentatiously learned men, *volgarizzamento* projects such as the *Frutti della lingua* itself aim to be useful to the simple and the illiterate. Vernacularization, because of its humble ambition of utility among the uneducated, ought then to be among the most wholesome of literary activities.

In the *Convivio*, which resembles a *volgarizzamento* in that it is a vernacular exposition, Dante uses the notion of linguistic adultery in a rather different way: to describe those 'abominable' Italians who denigrate



their native vernacular in favour of another. In keeping perhaps with his stated intent there to make known the perpetual infamy of those people who adopt other languages in the desire for vainglory, in the *Inferno* he condemns Brunetto Latini, who chose to write in French, for sodomy. Despite Dante's deeply ironic praise of him as a 'dear paternal image', the imputed sodomy of a prominent literary figure suggests that he must not have have scattered 'the seed of the word of God to engender spiritual sons of God'.<sup>5</sup>

Yet the notion that a perverse infidelity to the mother tongue justifies the label of sodomite obscures the fact that Latini was also a pioneer of Italian *volgarizzamento*, an endeavour generally said to strengthen the *volgare* as well as to enlighten the *volgo* with what Dante himself called the 'new sun' and 'new light' of vernacular eloquence.<sup>6</sup> As I hope to show in this chapter, the condemnation of Brunetto Latini *qua* vernacular translator represents a rejection of a certain kind of 'sterile' translation, of the sort Walter Benjamin described in his famous essay, 'The Task of the Translator', in favour of a more organic, fertile relationship between languages, represented by the characters of Statius and Cacciaguida, and the parallels between poesis and embryology. Moreover, the encounter with Guido Guinizelli, 'father' of modern Italian poets, on the terrace of both homosexual and heterosexual lust, suggests a poignant recognition of the status of the vernacular as mortal. At stake is not so much Dante's own translation practice, but his stance vis-à-vis the vast project of vernacularization that had, in effect, prepared the terrain for his own *Commedia*.

In his famous essay, Walter Benjamin made the startling claim that translation, like any other art, cannot be oriented towards any audience or reader: 'In the appreciation of a work of art or an art form, consideration of the receiver never proves fruitful.' This is astonishing, especially for translation whose only reason for being would seem to be its audience, cut off from a given text because of some particular linguistic limitation. But to our assumption that translation might be 'meant for readers who do not understand the original', Benjamin counters that the essential quality of literary works is not what they 'communicate'. To translate what a work 'says' is therefore to transmit something inessential and, as Benjamin says, 'this is the hallmark of bad translations'.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, because translators typically have their local audience in mind, to whom they try to impart information gleaned from a foreign text, they are not poets nor do they transmit the poetic essence of literary works. 'This will be true,' Benjamin says, 'whenever a translation undertakes to serve the reader.'

In contrast, good translation has an organic, natural connection with the original.

By virtue of its translatability the original is closely connected with the translation; in fact, this connection is all the closer since it is no longer of importance to the original. We may call this connection a natural one, or, more specifically, a vital connection.

It has to do not with the life of the original, but with its afterlife.

Just as the manifestations of life are intimately connected with the phenomenon of life without being of importance to it, a translation issues from the original – not so much for its life as from its afterlife.

This afterlife is of course, as Benjamin acknowledges, fame.

Translations that are more than transmissions of subject matter come into being when in the course of its survival a work has reached the age of its fame. Contrary, therefore, to the claims of bad translators, such translations do not so much serve the work as owe their existence to it. The life of the originals attains in them to its ever-renewed latest and most abundant flowering.

Bad translation is therefore one that claims to serve the original work and its new reader. It is, Benjamin says, the 'sterile equation of two dead languages'. Benjamin's descriptions of the good sort of translation, which does *not* try to communicate what the author said to a new audience, are full of botanical and biological imagery: the afterlife of an original work is a 'transformation and renewal of something living'. Translation is 'charged with the special mission of watching over the maturing process of the original language and the birth pangs [*Wehe*] of its own'. The 'kinship of languages manifests itself in translations'; 'the problem of ripening the seed of pure language in a translation seems to be insoluble'.<sup>8</sup>

The unnaturalness and sterility that Benjamin condemns in utilitarian translations resonate with Dante's shocking condemnation of Brunetto Latini – great communicator of culture to the backward Florentines – as sodomite. In the transfer from one language to another, Benjamin insists, like Dante, on the natural, genetic quality of their relationship – without which translation is 'the sterile equation of two dead languages'. This, I submit, is Dante's judgement of the vernacularization movement.

Even though Dante did not claim a *volgarizzamento* as part of his literary opus (the *Fiore*, if his, remains outside his carefully constructed poetic autobiography), he was nonetheless constantly engaged in translation. There are as many as 166 passages translated from Latin in the *Convivio*

alone.<sup>9</sup> Yet is in the *Convivio* that Dante makes explicitly disparaging remarks about translation. The loss of poetry in translation prevents the transmission of Homer and accounts for the broken music of the psalms. The loss of meaning is evident in the discrepancy between the *vetus* and *nova* translations of the *De meteoris*, where Aristotle's opinion on the Milky Way cannot be determined due to an 'error of the translators'. Yet this latter problem does not provoke, as it would in Leonardo Bruni in the next century (Chapter 6), a desire to investigate an original that underlies the various translations (if that were possible), but rather increased reliance on the commentator, Albertus Magnus.<sup>10</sup> In other words, while translation clearly has its problems, commentary can come to the rescue. The commentator becomes, in essence, a more reliable authority than the Philosopher. So, too, the *Convivio* intends to lay bare what the *canzoni* by themselves, because of the distraction of their fancy dress, may not.

Thus Dante is compelled to justify not his writing of a commentary on his own poems, but doing so in the vernacular. Dante acknowledges that a Latin commentary, of the sort Dino del Garbo made on Guido Cavalcanti's *Donna me prega*, would have made evident the content of his poems to people of other languages, such as German and English, but he claims that it would defy the will of the *canzoni* themselves who desire to have their meaning explained only where they can carry it together with their beauty.<sup>11</sup> There is no point in explaining the sense of the poems to people who cannot appreciate their beauty. This beauty is not available in translation because, as Dante famously says, nothing that is harmonized through a musical bond can be moved from its own idiom to another without breaking all its sweetness and harmony.

And therefore let everyone know that nothing that is harmonized through the bond of the muses [*per legame musaico armonizzata*] can be transmuted from its own speech into another without breaking all its sweetness and harmony. And this is the reason that Homer was not changed from Greek into Latin, as were other writings we have from them. And this is the reason that the verses of the Psalter are without musical or harmonic sweetness; because they were transmuted from Hebrew into Greek and from Greek into Latin, and in the first transmutation all that sweetness was lost.<sup>12</sup>

Dante, who of course has no first-hand experience of the supposed beauty of Homer and the psalms, derives this affirmation from Jerome, translator of the Bible, in the preface to his translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's chronicle. Jerome says that the inevitable difficulties every translator encounters (even Cicero) explain the unpolished sound of sacred literature. Learned men, not knowing that they are translated from Hebrew,

look at the surface rather than the marrow, and are horrified by the sordid dress of speech before they can discover the beautiful body hidden beneath. In fact, Jerome suggests that nothing is more melodious than the psalms whose alternation of metrical forms he compares with that of the Roman poet Flaccus and the Greek Pindar. Anyone who does not believe that translation alters the grace of language should try to express Homer in Latin word for word.<sup>13</sup>

The *Convivio* refuses to surrender the beautiful dress of the *canzoni* it aims to expound by translating them into another language in the commentary. And he is just as concerned to avoid translation of his prose, because even without the 'legame musaico' of poetry it will nonetheless be 'full of sweet and most loveable beauty'. Indeed it is presented as baring the true beauty of a lady from which the adornments, embellishments and clothing of the poems' rhyme and meter distract: her naked beauty, in sum.

Her virtue . . . [which could not be shown well] in the rhymed things, because of the accidental adornments that are connected with it, that is, rhyme and rhythm and regular meter: just as the beauty of a woman cannot be shown well when her adornments and make-up and clothing make her more admired than herself alone. So that someone who wants to judge a lady rightly should look at her when she has only her natural beauty, unaccompanied by all accidental ornament, as this commentary will be . . .<sup>14</sup>

Yet even as the prose of the *Convivio* will present the poems undressed, it will still be 'full of sweetest and most lovely beauty'.<sup>15</sup> The criterion of beauty is a great novelty for explanatory prose in Dante's day. Vernacular commentaries existed (that is essentially what *volgarizzamenti* were), but they made no claim for their own aesthetic value. The *Convivio* is not technically a *volgarizzamento* of the poems, since they are already in the *volgare* and cannot be translated into any other without suffering damage to their essential beauty. In so far as the commentary will compile and translate classical authorities brought to bear on topics raised by the poems, just as *volgarizzamenti* tend to do, it will differ from them in displaying its own, natural beauty.

If foreigners are excluded from his audience because of the tin ear they will necessarily have for the poems' beauty, Italian *litterati* are likewise disdained because of their mercenary motives for knowing Latin in the first place: they acquire *la lettera* not for their own use but in order to earn money or honours. He says that you should no more call them *litterati* than you should call somebody a musician who keeps an instrument in his house not so that he can play it, but in order to hire it out to others.

And to rebuke them I say that they should not be called *litterati*, because they do not acquire Latin learning for their own use, but because by means of it they can earn money or promotion; just as one should not call citharist someone who keeps his cithara in his house in order to rent it for a price, and not to use it for playing music.<sup>16</sup>

This is, evidently, a portrait of the *volgarizzatore*, or perhaps simply the notary – whose skill in linguistic mediation is up for sale. He does not make music with his own instrument – in this case, the *volgare*. Yet Dante's simile also suggests that the paid services of go-betweens literate in Latin can enable those who purchase them to make some music of their own.

Finally, a reason for writing the commentary directly in the *volgare* is to avoid *volgarizzamento*, or at least the *volgarizzamento* of others. Had he written the prose exposition of his poems in Latin, some *illitterato* who wanted to understand those poems might have hired a *litterato* to change it into the *volgare*. Again, it is the loss of beauty – not the possible misunderstandings of an *illitterato* or his paid interpreter – that concerns Dante most. He is worried not so much that a vernacular translator would misunderstand the original, but rather that he would make it seem ugly, as the doctor Taddeo Alderotti did with his vernacular version of the Latin version of Aristotle's *Ethics*.

I was in the second place moved through jealousy of [the vernacular] ... So thinking that the desire to understand these poems would have made some unlettered person have the Latin commentary translated into the vernacular, and fearing that the vernacular would be placed by someone who would have made it seem ugly, like the person who translated the Latin of the *Ethics* – and that was the doctor Taddeo – I arranged to do it myself, trusting in myself more than in another.<sup>17</sup>

The *Convivio* is in effect a preemptive *volgarizzamento*, motivated by jealousy. It is not so much that Alderotti was a bad Latinist: he was a bad writer of the vernacular.

As Sonia Gentili has traced for us, the Tuscan *Etica* was but the latest in a long line of remastications of Aristotle's text. It is a translation not of the original *Nicomachean Ethics*, but of a compendium written probably in Alexandrine Greek before the seventh century, translated into Arabic around the ninth, in turn put into Latin by Herman the German in 1243 or 1244. The Greek and Arabic versions are lost. If translation breaks the original music of a text, it seems unfair to lay all the blame on Alderotti, who was working from a text that had already seen at least

three linguistic transformations. Dante's *Convivio* is the oldest testimony of this translation, as none of the manuscripts are datable to before 1330. Only a third of the witnesses attribute the vernacular version to Alderotti; a majority of them simply describe themselves as *Etica Aristotilis* or sometimes *Etica Aristotilis translata in vulgari*. Yet the one place where the attribution stuck was in the Italian version of Brunetto Latini's *Tesoro* where it was inserted to occupy the space in the second book devoted to ethics, thereby saving the translator a step. This seems to have been a perfectly reasonable thing to do, since scholars suspect that the chapters in the original *Tesoro* are simply Brunetto's French translation of Alderotti's version. Latini did not go back to the Latin and indeed in his French translation rendered more *volgare* some of Alderotti's terms, thereby losing some of its technical vocabulary.<sup>18</sup> All of which is to say, for our purposes, that the condemnation of Taddeo Alderotti's vulgarizzamento is really metonymically a condemnation of Brunetto Latini's book.

The vernacular prose *Convivio* is in part motivated by Dante's horror of vernacular translators who, like the doctor Taddeo Alderotti, can make quite a mess of things, and whom he feared would *inevitably* have translated a commentary written in Latin. Trusting more in himself than in another, in an attempt to short-circuit or cut off the work of the busy vulgarizers, he becomes in the vernacular prose of his *Convivio* his own vulgarizzatore, but, needless to say, a better one.

Latin would be beneficial to few; the vernacular to many ('lo latino averebbe a pochi dato lo suo beneficio, ma lo volgare servirà veramente a molti'). Dante strongly contrasts the liberal gift of his vernacular commentary with the grasping *litterati* for hire, who make their glosses and commentaries on commission. His gift is to the illiterate many – noble princes, barons, knights and other noble people, both men and women, of whom there are very many ('che sono molti e molte in questa lingua') – whom he gently rebukes for having abandoned literature to those who have turned it to prostitution.<sup>19</sup> The vernacular commentary is a useful gift because it will be used, whereas a Latin one would be like a treasure underground or, worse, in the hands of a miser.

Furthermore, the Latin would not have been the giver of a useful gift, as the vernacular will be, because nothing is useful except in so far as it is used, nor is its goodness in its potentiality, which is not complete being: just like gold, pearls and other treasures that are buried [possible lacuna in text, A.C.]; because those that are in the hands of the miser are in a deeper place than the earth where treasure is hidden.<sup>20</sup>

The usefulness of treasure, as Aristotle said in his *Ethics*, is in its spending.<sup>21</sup>

This image of useless, buried treasure echoes Brunetto Latini's prologue to another one of his books called the 'treasure' (*Il tesoretto*) in which he admonishes his single and select dedicatee to be avaricious with his gift, 'this rich Treasure, / that is worth silver and gold', since he has not yet found 'any man born of flesh / worthy to have / or even to see / the writing that I show you/in letters of ink'.<sup>22</sup> Although the intent of an easily readable poem in rhyming *settenari* on an array of learned subjects might be thought to be divulgative, Brunetto insists that the book is for this worthy gentleman's eyes only:

Ad ogne altro lo nego,  
ed a voi faccio priego  
che lo tegnate caro,  
e che ne siate avaro. (lines 83–6)

I deny it to everyone else and I beg of you that you hold it dear and be miserly with it.

Brunetto Latini, whether or not he was ever literally Dante's teacher, was a model for Florentines who wanted to speak and write in the vernacular, who were politically engaged and interested in the application of classical ethics to modern civic life. As the prologue to one manuscript of the *Tesoro* puts it:

Questo libro si chiama il tesoro maggiore Il quale fece il maestro Burnetto latini di firenze e tratta dela bibbia e di filosofia Ad amaestramento di choloro che llo leggeranno.<sup>23</sup>

This book is called the Greater Treasure which master Burnetto Latini from Florence made and it treats of the Bible and of philosophy in order to teach those who will read it.

His placement in Hell, especially in the circle of sodomy, is staged as a big surprise ('Siete voi qui, ser Brunetto?') – making it clear that, if he was a homosexual, no one – least of all his admiring pupil – knew it.<sup>24</sup> The conversation that ensues leaves unspoken the 'sin that dare not speak its name', seemingly concerned with other things: the state of Florence, Dante's imminent exile from it, Brunetto's mentorship of Dante's work which will, if he follows his star, lead to a 'glorious port', and the 'dear, paternal image' of Brunetto as he taught, hour by hour, how 'man makes himself eternal'.<sup>25</sup> Brunetto tells us that all his companions in this circle were literary and learned men, all stained with the same sin.

Before running off to catch up with his cohort, that has left him behind while he conversed with Dante, to his former student he recommends his book:

Gente vien con la quale esser non deggio.  
 Sieti raccomandato il mio Tesoro  
 nel qual io vivo ancora, e più non cheggio. (*Inferno* 15.118–20)

People are coming with whom I must not be. Let my Treasure, in which I still live, be commended to you; I ask nothing else.

By 'treasure' Brunetto could be referring to at least three books: the Italian poem *Tesoretto*, the French prose encyclopedia, *Li livres dou Tresor*, which he describes explicitly as an expansion in another language of the same material, or the very nearly contemporaneous Italian translation, the *Tesoro*.<sup>26</sup> He might even be referring specifically to the third part of the *Book of the Treasure*, devoted to rhetoric and consisting of a partial translation of Cicero's *De inventione*, which he translated more fully in a work called the *Rettorica*, because in the prologue of the *Tresor*, Brunetto calls rhetoric the most valuable part of this treasure, comparable to fine gold:

The third part of the treasure is of fine gold, that is to say that it teaches people how to speak according to the rule of rhetoric, and how lords ought to govern people who are subject to them, especially according to the customs of the Italians; and all this belongs to the second part of philosophy, which is praxis. Because just as gold surpasses all kinds of metals, so also is the science of speaking well and of governing people more noble than any other in the world.<sup>27</sup>

Though the *Tresor* is usually considered an original composition, it is not just a compilation of many other texts – as a medieval encyclopedia was bound to be – but a site for accumulation, accretion, interpolation and extraction of vernacular translations, as mentioned in Chapter 2. The French text is not usually classified as a *volgarizzamento*, since Brunetto Latini originally wrote it in French, but it became in its Italian tradition the *volgarizzamento* that contained all manner of other *volgarizzamenti*.

The title of 'treasure', which Brunetto so favoured, is certainly echoed ironically when Dante calls his great-great-grandfather, encountered in canto 15, *Paradiso*, 'il mio tesoro'.<sup>28</sup> The value Brunetto attributes to a text of his own making is thereby transferred to a person, related to Dante by blood. Both paternal figures discuss Florence and the moral decline that has accompanied its economic boom, Dante's own exile and his work as a



writer. Brunetto says that, had he lived longer, he would have given 'comfort' to the younger man's work, whereas Cacciaguida explains that Dante has been shown notable figures in the three realms of the afterlife so that he can write the truth and 'let them scratch where it itches'.<sup>29</sup>

Brunetto's parting recommendation of his 'Treasure', in which he still lives, appears on the surface a vindication of his hourly lessons that taught how man makes himself eternal. Even after death, even after the infamy provoked by Dante's exposure of him in a particularly embarrassing precinct of Hell, Latini expects to live on in his works which are, as some of their titles clearly proclaim, his treasure. They have conferred on him an afterlife of literary fame, yet in the infernal context his works' title now unmistakably and tragically recalls Christ's admonition to lay up treasure in heaven, 'where the rust nor moth doth consume', as recorded in two of the Gospels.<sup>30</sup>

This biblical passage was part of the hagiography of Western Christendom's most important translator, Saint Jerome, when he himself recounts how he was exposed for treasuring Cicero above Christ. In the letter to Julia Eustochium, Jerome warns his protégée of the desire to appear over-eloquent, to try to pronounce words in an affected and unnatural way, in what he calls an 'adultery of the tongue'. He goes on to tell the story of, having left home in voluntary exile, how loath he had been to give up the reading of pagan authors.

When I was on my way to Jerusalem to wage my warfare, I still could not bring myself to forgo the library which I had formed for myself at Rome with great care and toil. And so, miserable man that I was, I would fast only that I might afterwards read Cicero. After many nights spent in vigil, after floods of tears called from my inmost heart, after the recollection of my past sins, I would once more take up Plautus. And when at times I returned to my right mind, and began to read the prophets, their style seemed rude and repellent.<sup>31</sup>

Jerome characterizes his spiritual struggle as a crusade (*militaturus*) and distance from his library in Rome as the most intolerable part of his exile. The temptation of pagan authors is a temptation of style. The irresistible love of Cicero and Plautus is a love of the eloquence of the Latin language, an 'adultery of the tongue', which the fourteenth-century *volgarizzamento* of the *Legenda aurea* turns into a passionate reading of Cicero by day and Plato by night ('sì come elli scrive ne la Pistola ched e' manda ad Eustochio, leggendo lui di die il Tullio e la notte Platone molto disiderosamente').<sup>32</sup> The prophets in contrast seem repellent, as Jerome explained that they do to learned men, not mindful that they are

translated. As the story goes on to tell, Jerome fell ill during Lent and, close to death, had an ecstatic experience in which he was brought before the Divine Judge and asked of his condition; to which he responded that he was a Christian. The judge retorted: 'Thou liest, thou art a follower of Cicero and not of Christ, For "where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also"' ('mentiris', ait, 'Ciceronianus es, non christianus; ubi thesaurus tuus, ibi et cor tuum'). Or, as the Tuscan *Leggenda* has it: 'You lied, you are Ciceronian, not Christian: where your treasure is, there is also your heart' ('Tu mentisti, tu se' Tulliano, non cristiano: colà dove è il tesoro tuo, là è il cuore tuo'). The fourteenth-century *volgarizzamento* of the epistle elaborates slightly:

You lie in your throat; on the contrary you are the disciple of Cicero, and not of Christ; because here where your treasure is, here is your heart, and in that which you love and study the most.<sup>33</sup>

Certainly Jerome's is not the only life in which the recollection of Christ's injunction to 'store up treasure in heaven' marks a pivotal moment. In the Tuscan Life of Anthony, we read:

And as it pleased God, it happened that that Gospel was being read that tells how Christ said to a young rich man: 'If you want to be perfect, go and sell everything you have, and give it to the poor, and come after me and follow me, and you will have treasure in heaven.'<sup>34</sup>

It is this story of Anthony's conversion that spurred St Augustine, recalling in this very context how the reading of Cicero had converted him years ago to the love of wisdom, to pick up and read the passage in Paul that finally changed his life.<sup>35</sup>

I got up, taking it to mean that nothing else was divinely commanded me than that I should open a book and read the first passage that I should find. For I had heard about Anthony that he had been admonished from a reading of the Gospel on which he had come by chance, as if what was being read was said for him: 'Go, sell what thou hast, and give it to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.'<sup>36</sup>

Brunetto's recommendation that we read his *Tesoro* therefore evokes not just the Gospel passage, but its key role in paradigmatic conversions, particularly of lovers of Cicero, like Brunetto himself, who was very likely Europe's first vernacular translator of Cicero. Jerome's story makes the worldly treasure not to be laid up as iconically literary: an attachment to pagan literature that drew him away from Christ, even as it qualified him to translate the Bible – 'traslatate le Scritture' – as the Tuscan *Leggenda aurea* puts it.

It would seem ironic for Dante to condemn Brunetto for excessive love of pagan authors when it is Dante himself who claims to have been saved by none other than the poet Virgil. In the *Tesoretto*, Brunetto narrates how he learned of his exile from an itinerant Bolognese scholar in the valley of Roncesvalle whereupon he became lost in a 'strange wood' (*selva diversa*) of which Dante's 'dark wood' (*selva oscura*) is reminiscent. Yet Brunetto has himself been redirected not by an author but by the personification of Nature ('Io sono la Natura').<sup>37</sup> So much the more pointed is Dante's indictment of Latini in Hell for violence *against* Nature.

In his encounter with Brunetto in *Inferno* 15, Dante recalls the similarity between his own adventure and that of his teacher by retelling how he got lost in a dark wood and is being led home by Virgil:

'Là sù di sopra, in la vita serena',  
rispuos'io lui, 'mi smarri in una valle,  
avanti che l'età mia fosse piena.  
Pur ier mattina le volsi le spalle:  
questi m'apparve, tornand'io in quella,  
e reducemì a ca per questo calle.' (*Inferno* 15.49–54)

'Up there in the serene life', I answered him, 'I got lost in a valley before my age was full. Just yesterday morning I turned my back on it. This one appeared to me as I was going back into it and he is taking me home by this path.'

Brunetto, who gives Dante a cryptic prophecy of his exile in this canto, would most certainly understand the goal of the journey 'home' as the return trip to Florence, rather than the Elysian heaven. Whereas he, unlike Dante, did return to Florence with the triumph of the Guelphs in 1266, Dante represents him now as permanently 'banished' from human nature.

In contrast with the shared experience of political exile of these two modern Florentines, Cacciaguida comes from a pre-factional Florence where wives were not yet abandoned in their beds for France and each one was sure of where she would be buried.<sup>38</sup> His death far from home was due not to discord in the city, but to service in the 'just' war of the crusades. His martyrdom at the hands of the infidel is portrayed not as exile, but as release from the deceptive world, granting him a celestial peace ('e venni dal martiro a questa pace', 15.148) similar to that of his home town in the good old days ('Fiorenza . . . si stava in pace', *Paradiso* 15.97–9).

Brunetto and Cacciaguida are both concerned Florentine citizens and father-figures, although in retrospect Brunetto's 'paternal image' looks very much like a simulacrum. While both figures will call Dante 'son',

Dante's connection to Cacciaguida is emphatically natural ('O sanguis meus'), even botanical ('O fronda mia').<sup>39</sup> Although Brunetto is a writer and Cacciaguida is not, the ancestor's martyrdom as a crusading soldier in a foreign land is rendered cognate with Dante's own mission of bearing witness. As Jeffrey Schnapp reminds us, the etymological meaning of *martyr* is to 'bear witness' so that the necessity of speaking unwelcome truths, likely to make his exile from Florence more permanent, is the cross that Dante must bear.<sup>40</sup> Fatherhood, it turns out, has a lot to do with speech, as Dante emphatically identifies Cacciaguida as a true father who 'gives me boldness to speak' ('Voi siete il padre mio; / voi mi date a parlar tutta baldanza').<sup>41</sup>

When his venerated teacher speaks of his coming misfortunes in *Inferno* 15, Dante in effect silences him by saying he will get someone else to explicate his message of bad news.

Ciò che narrate di mio corso scrivo,  
e serbolo a chiosar con altro testo  
a donna che saprà, s'a lei arrive. (15.88–90)

That which you tell of my course I write and I save it to be glossed with another text by a lady who will know how, if I reach her.

Dante portrays himself as a copyist of Brunetto's narration, carefully transcribing without understanding texts which he will then submit for interpretation by a knowledgeable commentator.<sup>42</sup> On the one hand, the promise of a gloss on Brunetto's narration of Dante's journey might confer authority on his teacher, in the same way that Dante's writing a commentary on his own poems rendered those compositions authoritative, in need of commentary. As seen in the resolution of the problem of the Milky Way, the commentary can be more authoritative, or at least more correct, than the authorities as they are handed down. It also suggests that Brunetto is saying something unclear, in need of gloss, which is ironic when one remembers that in the *Rettorica*, in which he ascribed to himself co-authorship alongside Cicero, his own 'authorial' role was to make clearer what Cicero said ('sì vuole lo sponitore per più chiarire l'opera dicere').<sup>43</sup> Dante suggests that Beatrice (*donna che saprà*) will have the role of *sponitore* (or *sponitrice*) since she will know how to gloss Brunetto's narrative, to tell us what it really means. In what seems a change of heart, but may be a further imitation of Virgil, in the *Paradiso* Dante has Cacciaguida, not Beatrice, explain in clearest possible terms the facts of his future exile. There is a deliberate dichotomy set up between

the pagan obscurity of the Sybil's *ambage* and a Christian clarity of revelation made possible by the Lamb of God.<sup>44</sup>

Né per ambage, in che la gente folle  
già s'inviscava pria che fosse anciso  
l'Agnel di Dio che le peccata tolle,  
ma per chiare parole e con preciso  
latin rispuose quello amor paterno,  
chiuso e parvente del suo proprio riso. (*Paradiso* 17.31–6)

Not by means of enigmas, in which the mad people used to entrap themselves before the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world was killed, but by means of clear words and with precise Latin did that paternal love respond, closed up and apparent in his own smile.

Cacciaguida, who had been hard to understand at first, now speaks with clear words in 'precise Latin'. While it is true that 'latin' was commonly used in Italian as well as French and Occitan generically to indicate language or discourse (even the language of birds), it was also just as commonly used to mean Latin, the language of the Romans. My point is that Cacciaguida is able to speak in a way that is simultaneously as authoritative as Latin and as comprehensible as the vernacular. This is a text that requires no translation or commentary – at least in the experience of the pilgrim, which is not identical with the text we read. It is like the refulgent spirit himself, both closed and apparent, both tightly wound like a subtle text needing exposition and at the same time perfectly, smilingly, apparent ('chiuso e parvente del suo proprio riso'). It is the dream of the *Commedia* itself, perhaps, 'a poem which insists that it can "explain itself"'.<sup>45</sup>

Translation, like exposition, is very much at stake in the cantos of Cacciaguida, since he speaks in a variety of languages, some of which are incomprehensible and must be translated or redirected towards the understanding of his audience. The refulgent light that slides down the celestial cross to speak to Dante like a pearl on a string first spontaneously speaks Virgilian Latin in rhyming hendecasyllabic tercets ('O sanguis meus', etc.). He is literate in a language in which we are illiterate, since he reads in a great immutable volume not immediately accessible to readers like us ('leggendo del magno volume / du' non si muta mai bianco né bruno'). He also speaks in a language so profound that his great-great-grandson cannot understand him, not because he was trying to show off, but because what he was thinking went beyond 'the sign of mortals', that is, beyond all human language.<sup>46</sup>

Indi, a udire e a veder giocondo,  
 giunse lo spirto al suo principio cose,  
 ch'io non lo 'ntesi, sì parlò profondo;  
 né per elezion mi si nascose,  
 ma per necessità, ché 'l suo concetto  
 al segno d'i mortal si soprapuose. (*Paradiso* 15.36–42)

Then, happy to hear and to see, the spirit added to his beginning things that I did not understand, because he spoke so profoundly. Nor did he conceal himself from me through choice, but rather of necessity, since his concept was placed above the sign of mortals.

Only then does his ancestor redirect his speech towards the mark of 'our understanding'.<sup>47</sup> Dante asks him further to clarify his speech since mortals, unlike the blessed, have understanding unequal to their desire. Cacciaguida goes on to explain who he is and what Florence was like 'within her ancient walls' in a manner Dante can understand and perhaps in the very words recorded in the poem. Yet in the following canto the poet remarks that Cacciaguida was speaking in a language different from 'this modern one'. In other words, what he writes is but a version of what Cacciaguida said, not verbatim.

e come alli occhi miei si fe' più bella,  
 così con voce più dolce e soave,  
 ma non con questa moderna favella,  
 disse mi. . . (*Paradiso* 16.31–4)

and just as [that light] made itself more beautiful, so with a sweeter and smoother voice, but not with this modern speech, said to me. . .

The suggestion is that he is speaking in something more ancient, but nonetheless vernacular, and indeed Florentine, which Dante must be translating for us into his own idiom.

Canto 16 is indeed about the mortality of human things, particularly worldly fame, and about what has changed and disappeared in Florence since Cacciaguida's time.

Le vostre cose tutte hanno lor morte,  
 sì come voi; ma celasi in alcuna  
 che dura molto; e le vite son corte. (16.79–81)

All your things have their death, as do you; but it is concealed in some things that last a long time; and your lives are short.

Already in the *Convivio*, Dante had expressed awareness of the radical instability of the vernacular. Latin is 'perpetual and incorruptible', while

the vernacular is 'unstable and corruptible'. The evidence for the stability of Latin is the readability of dialogue in ancient theatrical works. In contrast, in the last fifty years many vernacular words have been extinguished, born and modified, so that if a person who died a thousand years ago came back to his own city, he would think it occupied by aliens because of the strange way they speak.<sup>48</sup> Dante cites no specific literary evidence for the instability of the vernacular (although Brunetto's works are from just about fifty years before the *Convivio*). In a later passage, however, Dante bases a notion of linguistic instability on the authority of Horace, who was referring of course to Latin.<sup>49</sup> There is nonetheless in Dante's works a strong awareness of both the newness and the precariousness of vernacular poetry. In the *Vita nova* he remarks that vernacular poets began to appear not many years ago and the sign of how recent a phenomenon it is is that one cannot find poetry composed either in Occitan (*lingua d'oco*) or in Italian (*lingua di sì*) that is more than 150 years old.<sup>50</sup>

In the *De vulgari eloquentia* (1.6.5–8), Dante concentrates more on the geographic diversity of languages than their temporal duration, although he expresses the belief that only Hebrew had the distinct privilege of incorruptibility. The mother tongue of the man without a mother, Hebrew alone survived the dispersion of the Tower of Babel. In his palinodic interview with Adam in *Paradiso* 26, Hebrew too will go the way of all other languages, since whatever it was Adam spoke was already extinguished even before the work on the Tower began.

La lingua ch'io parlai fu tutta spenta  
innanzi che a l'ovra inconsumabile  
fosse la gente di Nembròt attenta:  
ché nullo effetto mai razionabile,  
per lo piacere uman che rinovella  
seguendo il cielo, sempre fu durabile.  
Opera naturale è ch'uom favella;  
ma così o così, natura lascia  
poi fare a voi secondo che v'abbella. (26.124–32)

The language I spoke was all spent before the people of Nimrod were directed towards the uncompletable work; because no effect of reason was ever durable, because of men's pleasure that is always renewed with the turning of the heavens. It is a natural work for man to speak, but this way or that way nature leaves up to you, according to what you find beautiful.

Adam's repetition of 'natural' and 'nature' brings us back to Brunetto Latini and his sin against nature. If all languages are equally natural, a preference for one idiom over another cannot be charged as unnatural. Rather what is at stake is language that proves fruitful in contrast with language seen as sterile.

André Pézard traced a long tradition of the trope of misuse of language as sexual perversion to give a metaphorical, literary justification for Dante's shocking 'outing' of Brunetto Latini, his revered teacher, as a sodomite.<sup>51</sup> Pézard used this metaphoric background to redefine Brunetto's sin as a literary choice, thus lifting from him the ignominy of sexual inversion. The linguistic perversion was, for Pézard, primarily Brunetto's choice to write in French, a vernacular not his own:

Just as the sodomite turns carnal love away from its proper end, so too those who renounce their language turn from its proper end the first gift that God gave to man by his love – a gift made for the purpose of love, since the community of language is the primary spiritual bond of the family and of the nation. Thus, Brunetto Latini, a writer and a deserter, by refusing to give life to his language, denies its purpose and takes away its means of giving life to new beings: literary works as daughters of the intellect which must grow on the soil of one's native land. At the very least, he deprives his language of the hope to make viable, through the intellect, the sons of Italy, both born and unborn, since he refuses to communicate his knowledge to all of the 'famished poor' who do not know French. He has frustrated his idiom with regard to its natural end, which is to disseminate and multiply the spirit.<sup>52</sup>

The passing over of his natural mother tongue for another non-native, hence unnatural, idiom is something Dante explicitly condemns in the *Convivio*.

And all such people are the abominable bad people of Italy who think this precious vernacular is base, which, if it is base at all, it is only in so far as it sounds in the whoring mouths of these adulterers.<sup>53</sup>

One of these *abominevoli cattivi* would appear to be Brunetto who defended his writing of the *Tresor* in the language of France first because of his accidental presence there in exile and second because French is 'the most delightful and the most common to all languages'. A betrayal of the mother tongue can be understood as a betrayal of procreation and, hence, heterosexuality since Dante also says in the *Convivio* that he owes to this language his very being, since it was what brought his parents together.



Unsurprisingly, Brunetto's remarks in praise of French do not appear in the Italian version (*Il tesoro*), whose circulation – also translated into other European vernaculars – was wide and venerable. It was translated into Italian almost immediately and would therefore have been perfectly available to the 'famished poor' who had only that language. This is important to remember since Dante may well have been more familiar with the *Tesoro* than with the *Tresor*, and it is after all the Italian title that Brunetto is made to cite as his most important work at the end of the canto. In other words, despite Brunetto's important contribution to French literature, in all his other works, which could even include the Italian rendition of the *Tresor* itself, he was very much a writer of Italian.

Giuseppe Mazzotta helped us understand that it was not just Brunetto's choice of language, but rather his whole civic ideology and natural theory of education that comes under attack in his surprise condemnation for sodomy. Mazzotta describes Brunetto as 'mindless of the discrepancy between this earthly view of glory – rejected by Dante in the canto of Cacciaguیدا – and the glory and true home the pilgrim seeks'. Albert Ascoli, building on Mazzotta, concludes: 'Thus sodomy is precisely a figure for the humanistic promise of textual eternity, the reproduction of the self by itself on itself in its writings.'<sup>54</sup> These readings, with which I concur, rely most heavily not so much on the various works called 'treasure' but rather on Latini's translation of Cicero: the *Rettorica*.

The *Rettorica* is not a work composed in the 'wrong' vernacular, as the *Tresor* may be, but a *volgarizzamento*, that is, a rendering of Cicero's *De inventione* into the Florentine mother tongue. Mazzotta observes that the very act of translating Cicero's rhetorical treatise supposes 'a paradigm of a changeless history', presuming identity and sameness that Dante saw as 'unfructifying'. The encyclopedic *Tresor* also represents a work of translation – both in the general sense of transmission of Latin culture to vernacular readership, as well as in its patchwork compilation of translated parts. I would like to insist upon Brunetto Latini's identity as vernacular translator – *volgarizzatore* or *sponitore* – as target of Dante's fierce indictment of him as a sodomite. This condemnation is not so much *ad hominem*, still less because of some personal sexual unavailability transpiring between two historical individuals occupying the roles of student and teacher. Rather, it is part of Dante's need to acknowledge, reject, and re-imagine the very literary phenomenon that gave a ready-made audience to his own long, narrative, encyclopedic and didactic poem in the vernacular. Through the metaphor of sexuality, Dante will

characterize his own vernacular project as organic and fruitful in contrast with an imputed sterility in the *volgarizzamento* movement.

It would be hard to overstate the importance of Brunetto Latini's *Rettorica*, which is among the very earliest examples of vernacular prose in Italy, for the Italian movement of vernacularization in the thirteenth century and for the appropriation of Cicero into European vernaculars, which Virginia Cox has called 'a very largely Italian' story. Where the *Rettorica* seems to have taken great liberties as a translation, particularly in the parts marked off as authored by the *sponitore*, it has in fact been shown to be translated from a Latin commentary on Cicero, so that much of what looks like Brunetto's own interpretation and interpolation is in fact just more translation.<sup>55</sup>

Yet in the *accessus* Latini claims, rather boastfully for a translator, that this work has two authors: one is Marcus Tullius Cicero, the other is Brunetto Latini.

The author of this work is double: one that from all the sayings of the philosophers and from the living fountain of his own genius made his book of rhetoric, that is, Marcus Tullius Cicero, the wisest of the Romans. The second is Brunetto Latino, citizen of Florence, who put all his study and understanding to expound and explain that which Tullio had said.<sup>56</sup>

Brunetto unabashedly claims, through translation, the name of author – indeed co-author of an authoritative text – that Dante himself never explicitly claimed for himself even as he tried to establish his own *auctoritas* in all his works.<sup>57</sup>

In the *Rettorica*, the reasons for the book's existence are wrapped up with the contingencies of the life of its second author (his exile in France) and his personal relationship with a specific reader to whom the work is dedicated:

The reason this book was made is the following. This Brunetto Latino, because of the war between the parties of Florence, was banished from the city when his Guelph party, which was held together with the pope and the church of Rome, was thrown out and banished from the city. And then he went to France to seek his fortune, and there he found one of his friends from his city and his party, who was very rich in possessions, well-mannered and full of great wisdom, who honored him much and did him great service, and therefore he called him his 'port', as is openly apparent in many parts of this book.<sup>58</sup>

This identification of a single specific reader as 'port' can be read back ironically into the words of flattering literary mentorship Dante has him pronounce in the *Inferno*:

Ed elli a me: 'Se tu segui tua stella,  
non puoi fallire a glorioso porto,  
se ben m'accorsi nella vita bella.' (15.55-7)

And he to me: 'If you follow your star, you cannot fail of a glorious port, if well I discerned in the beautiful life.'

The mentor's self-deprecating 'if I discerned' is now implicitly negated by his presence in Hell, a sure sign of his flawed judgement in the 'beautiful life'. What Brunetto calls the 'beautiful life', Cacciaguida will call 'the fallacious world'. The glory Brunetto was thinking of involved worldly fame, such as that of Virgil's (*gloria di Latin*), not the 'glory of the All-Mover' whose brightest location is the Empyrean heaven, the ultimate goal of Dante's journey 'home'.<sup>59</sup> The characterization of the *Rettorica's* dedicatee as a 'port' reduces the goal of Brunetto's literary endeavours even more radically: from a generalized idea of fame, literary afterlife or vainglory to a particular wealthy and influential individual mortal from his own town, his own party, who, as Brunetto says he would have done for Dante, helped him in his career.<sup>60</sup>

We can contrast this personal, local, contemporaneous individual and mortal audience with Dante's fear of 'losing his life' among those who will call this time ancient. The misfortune of exile is not to be remedied by currying favour with a single, influential Florentine – or with any of their lot – but rather with posterity. Moreover, the only friendship that should motivate the writer should be friendship with the truth – *magis amica veritas*, as the proverb says.

e s'io al vero son timido amico,  
temo di perder viver tra coloro  
che questo tempo chiameranno antico. (*Paradiso* 17.118-20)

And if I am a timid friend of truth, I fear to lose life among those who will call this time ancient.

This is not a rejection of worldly fame in favour of heavenly glory. Rather, it is a pointed expansion of fame to extend well beyond one's own time and proximate successive generations to people who will look back at the present time as ancient. In other words, and this is important, to people who will no longer speak the vernacular in which the poem is written and will have to read it in translation.

Cacciaguida's blood relationship to Dante, however distant, emphasizes biological fatherhood over literary fatherhood suggested by the

'paternal image' of Brunetto Latini. As we have seen, Dante credits the vernacular with his own engendering, since it was the language that brought his parents together and led them to procreate.<sup>61</sup> In the *De vulgari eloquentia*, it is this very naturalness, associated with the nursing infant, that grants the vernacular its paradoxically greater nobility.

We call vulgar speech the one that infants get accustomed to by their attendants when they first begin to distinguish voices; or, what could be said more briefly, we assert vulgar speech to be that which we take on without any rule by imitating our nurse.<sup>62</sup>

But, as Ascoli points out, later on Dante asserts that the sought-after *vulgare illustre* is the language not of family, females and infancy, but rather of the *patria*, the fatherland and the court. He mocks the citizens of the Hicksville (Petramala) who think that their *maternam locutionem* is the most delightful in the world

In this, as in many other things, Petramala is a great city and fatherland of most of the sons of Adam. For, whoever is of such repellant reasoning as to believe the place of his birth is the most delightful under the sun also thinks his own vernacular, that is, his mother speech, is before all others, and consequently believes it was Adam's.<sup>63</sup>

The vernacular is emphatically female at its origin, imbibed with mother's milk; but the *illustrious* vernacular is praised precisely for its distance from that origin and approximation of a courtly, male idiom.

In the *Commedia*, distinctions between Latin and vernacular are further problematized, even as they engage the language of gender, sexuality and procreation. Most importantly Virgil, who epitomizes Latin *auctoritas* – as Latin poet, poet of empire and master of Aristotelian philosophy – in addition to the titles of *maestro* and *autore* is frequently called 'father' and even 'sweet father'.<sup>64</sup> Yet in two places in the poem he is described not as father, but as mother. The first is at a moment of emergency, brought on in fact by Virgil's inability to comprehend the deceptiveness of the black devils – a moment of crisis in his authority – when he must catch up Dante to his breast like a mother fleeing a burning house with her child, dressed only in her nightshirt.

Lo duca mio di sùbito mi prese,  
come la madre ch'al romore è desta  
e vede presso a sé le fiamme accese,

che prende il figlio e fugge e non s'arresta,  
avendo più di lui che di sé cura,  
tanto che solo una camicia vesta

...

come 'l maestro mio per quel vivagno,  
portandosene me sovra 'l suo petto,  
come suo figlio, non come compagno. (*Inferno* 23.37–51)

My leader took me instantly, like a mother roused by the noise who sees flames burning close to her and who takes her son and flees and does not stop, having more care for him than for herself, so much so that she is dressed in only a shirt ... as did my master down that wall, carrying me on his breast like his son, not like a companion.

The simile is about instinct, rather than rational analysis – which seems to have ill served the master in his encounter with the squalid little cherubs – and specifically about the instinct to save the next generation that is stronger even than that of self-preservation and certainly than concern over any sort of decorum or modesty. Maternity is anti-rational, even undecorous, but life-saving, as well as life-giving.

The second time that Virgil is described as a mother, indeed *mamma* and nurse, is by the Latin poet Statius whom Virgil above all is astonished to find, saved, in Purgatory. The freshly purged Statius introduces himself to the two unknown travellers as a poet, 'the name that lasts the longest and gives the most honour'. As ancient Christian poet, Statius juxtaposes two ways that 'man can make himself eternal': the one that Brunetto Latini hoped in – fame – and the one in which Brunetto, like Virgil, did not – faith.

'col nome che più dura e più onora  
era io di là', rispuose quello spirto,  
'famoso assai, ma non con fede ancora'. (*Purgatorio* 21.85–7)

'I was over there with the name that lasts longest and honours most', replied that spirit, 'very famous, but not yet with faith'.

He describes the *Aeneid* as a fruitful work, the sparks of whose divine flame were like 'seeds' to his poetic ardour, but then in a metaphor that seems to switch procreative agents, he declares that the *Aeneid* was his *mamma*.

Al mio ardor fuor seme le faville,  
che mi scaldar, della divina fiamma  
onde sono allumati più di mille;

dell'Eneida dico, la qual mamma  
fummi, e fummi nutrice poetando. (*Purgatorio* 21.94–8)

Seeds to my ardour were the sparks of the divine flame that warmed me, from which more than a thousand have been lit up; I mean of the *Aeneid*, which was mamma to me and was to me a nurse in making poetry.

Although, as Gary Cestaro has shown, Latin grammar too had a long metaphorical life as mother and nurse, anyone familiar with Dante's definition of the vernacular in the *De vulgari* would recognize this imagery as constitutive of the mother tongue. One could object that for Statius, as for Virgil, Latin *was* his mother tongue. But what Dante has done is to collapse the distinction between language learned from long study of authoritative books and language imbibed naturally with mother's milk. That is to say, Statius embraced the language of learning as if it were his native language, his mother tongue. For Statius the *Aeneid* could reconcile Dante's two contradictory statements about the relative nobility of Latin and vernacular: in the *Convivio* Latin is 'sovereign' for its nobility, virtue and beauty; in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, 'nobilior est vulgaris'.<sup>65</sup>

All the more shocking, then, is Statius' notorious misunderstanding of that very book, which to him had become like his mother tongue. In explaining the centrality of the *Aeneid* in his moral conversion, Statius commits a mistranslation that until very recently was frequently attributed, with embarrassment and/or disdain, to Dante himself. Virgil, damned without committing a sin, asks Statius as a critical and perhaps sceptical friend, how he could have been susceptible to such an ignoble vice as avarice:

Ma dimmi, e come amico mi perdona  
se troppa sicurtà m'allarga il freno,  
e come amico omai meco ragiona:  
come poté trovar dentro al tuo seno  
loco avarizia, tra cotanto senno  
di quanto per tua cura fosti pieno? (*Purgatorio* 22.19–24)

But tell me, and as a friend pardon me if too much confidence loosens my rein, and as a friend speak to me now: how could avarice find a place in your breast, among such great wisdom with which you were full thanks to your study?

The newly saved soul gently points out the revered poet's misinterpretation of the situation, his inability to see true causes under the appearance

of things. He explains that, despite his collocation on the terrace of avarice, the vice of greed was too distant from him, because he was guilty of its opposite: prodigality. And then, in the famous crux, he shows how it was a specific passage in Virgil's own poem that put him back on the right path.

quand'io intesi là dove tu chiamo,  
 crucciato quasi all'umana natura:  
 'Per che non reggi tu, o sacra fame  
 de l'oro, l'appetito de' mortali?' (*Purgatorio* 22.38–41)

When I understood there where you call out, as if angered at human nature:  
 'Why do you not rein in, o holy hunger for gold, the appetite of mortals?'

Statius says not just that he read, but that he understood (*intesi*) what Virgil was calling out in his poem. He understood it to be a call for restraint in the spending of money, a revelation that hunger for gold could be holy. As commentators noticed from the beginning, the passage in the *Aeneid* says nothing of the sort. Indeed, as is clear from the context (the murder of Polydorus for his gold), the condemnation is of avarice 'accursed [*sacer*] hunger for gold', not prodigality. That this meaning was evident also to Dante is certain, since he used the episode of Polydorus as an example of greed right here on the terrace of avarice. Yet, remarkably, for most of the history of the reception of the *Commedia*, educated readers have assumed that Dante made a mistake, starting with the disdainful Latin humanist, Niccolò Niccoli, who took it as a rather clear sign of Dante's inferior grasp of the Latin language.<sup>66</sup>

The outrageous misprision is clearly a statement not just on reading, but on translation, indeed on *volgarizzamento*. Vernacular translation *is* reading; it is an appropriation of an authoritative text into a new context, not just a different set of words. It suggests that for our reading to be *fruitful*, it is of no importance for it to be accurate, only transformative. Statius is therefore a *good* vernacular translator – the best. He appropriates a passage in such a way that saves his own life and, contemporaneously, saves the life of the old book – makes it relevant, as we are so often advised to do in pedagogical theory today.

The point is confirmed in Statius' second misreading, less shocking because wholly conventional in the Middle Ages, of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue as if it were a prophecy of the coming of Christ. The character Virgil, for whom the revelation of such momentous misreadings of his

own works must be very, even tragically, gripping, goes on to protest that in his epic *Thebaid* (which Virgil has 'read' through reports from readers of it gone to Hell) Statius did not appear Christian.

'Or quando tu cantasti le crude armi  
della doppia trestizia di Giocasta',  
disse 'l cantor de' bucolici carmi,  
'per quello che Cliò teco li tasta,  
non par che ti facesse ancor fedele  
la fede, senza qual ben far non basta'. (*Purgatorio* 22.55–60)

'Now when you sang of the cruel arms of the double sadness of Jocasta', said the singer of bucolic poems, 'in that which Clio touches there with you, it does not seem that faith, without which good works are not enough, had yet made you faithful'.

Virgil's almost Lutheran stance, by now drilled into him during his journey through the hitherto unknown Christian realm of salvation, that good works are naught without faith, has the urgency of perceived injustice. It seems an especially terrible injustice to the poet whose bucolic poem about to be celebrated is, according to the vernacular translation, about justice. Statius acknowledges that Virgil's light was of no use to himself, like someone who walks with the torch behind him, illumining the way for those who come after.<sup>67</sup> Then he proceeds with a vernacular translation of the opening lines of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.

quando dicesti: 'Secol si rinova;  
torna giustizia e primo tempo umano,  
e progenie scende da ciel nova.' (22.70–2)

When you said, 'The age is renewed; justice returns and the first human age, and a new progeny descends from heaven.'

Statius' role, as connector between the ancient and Christian worlds, is to vernacularize – even if – and indeed this is stressed – the translation is unfaithful, especially if it leads as it does in Statius' case to the faith. In 'vernacularizing' the *Aeneid*, Statius transforms the patriarchal epic into mother and nurse (*mamma/fummi e fummi nutrice*) which, in Dante's lexicon is the gender and role of the *volgare*, the mother tongue. His (mis)reading of Virgil leads ultimately to the parturition of a newly saved soul out of the cornice of avarice, with an earthquake that recalls the birth of the 'two eyes of heaven' on a terrace where the penitents call on 'sweet Mary' like women about to give birth ('come fa donna che in parturir sia').<sup>68</sup>



Procreation will not just be metaphoric in these cantos, because to Statius is also given the task of vulgarizing the science of embryology, together with its philosophical crux, into the vernacular rhymes of the sweet new style.

As critics have noticed, Statius' explanation of human procreation in *Purgatorio* 25 is flanked by discussions of vernacular poetry in *Purgatorio* 24 and 26.<sup>69</sup> The discourse of embryology – how human beings are made – is necessary to answer Dante's question about how after death souls without bodies might continue to feel and show pain and indeed appear to lose weight through hunger. It occurs as a problem of Dante's own making, since only a narrative representing the afterlife need concern itself with a bodily representation of a spiritual punishment. In a poignant surrender of authority, Virgil defers in his answer to Statius. As John Freccero pointed out, Virgil's own explanation is acutely literary, echoing with his two examples (the burning brand and the image in the mirror) the rhetorical tropes of metaphor and mimesis. Statius' explanation, by contrast, is emphatically *corporeal*, not symbolic. The newly purged Latin poet reviews the process of human reproduction, from the distillation of blood into sperm to its curdling effect on blood in the uterus, through stages of foetal development preparing it for the direct divine inspiration of a new human soul ('spira / spirito novo').<sup>70</sup> From Statius we learn that there is something in the connection of soul to body in the making of human beings that continues on, *virtually*, after soul is separated from the body in death.

After rehearsing the fundamentals of classical embryology in what Bruno Nardi called a *volgarizzamento* of Albertus Magnus, Statius reaches the crux of the matter, which is how soul is infused into the foetus.

Ma come d'animal divegna fante,  
non vedi tu ancor: quest'è tal punto,  
che più savio di te fe' già errante. (*Purgatorio* 25.61–3)

But you do not yet see how from an animal it becomes a speaking thing: this is a point that has made people wiser than you go astray.

Humanity itself is expressed in terms of the ability to speak, as the Prime Mover breathes a new soul into nature's great 'art'.

Lo motor primo a lui si volge lieto  
sopra tant'arte di natura, e spira  
spirito novo, di virtù repleto (25.70–2)

The prime mover happily turns to it, over such an artwork of nature, and breathes in a new spirit, full of virtue.

The 'inspiration' of something new into a work of art no doubt deliberately recalls Dante's description of his own way of writing poetry in the preceding canto. When Bonagiunta da Lucca recognizes Dante as the author of 'Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore', Dante responds not with a simple yes or no, but with a manifesto of his poetic method.

E io a lui: 'I' mi son un che, quando  
 Amor mi spira, noto, e a quel modo  
 ch'e' ditta dentro vo significando.' (24.52-4)

And I to him: 'As to myself, I am one who, when Love breathes into me, takes note, and in that way that it is dictating within I go signifying.'

Giorgio Agamben argues that pneumatic theory is behind both the embryological analysis in canto 25 and the mode of poetic composition enunciated in canto 24. Like the sperm that informs and coagulates the uterine blood, what the poet receives from Love's inspiration is also 'corporeal spirit', as is what the poet produces. The inspired 'voice' of his poetry is also a *quid medium* between body and soul, matter and form, letter and spirit. Dante's definition of his method of composition offers parallels with the way a body is bound to a rational soul. In both cases there is a crucial and mysterious connection, the 'knot' that kept lesser vernacular poets from attaining the 'sweet new style', and the 'point' which led many philosophers astray in their efforts to comprehend the nexus of soul and body.

Embryology was the part of medicine most closely tied to philosophy, and of great interest in the contemporary world of Latin learning, precisely because of this intersection of the corporeal, elemental world with the divine.<sup>71</sup> In an earlier attempt at vulgarizing the relation of soul to body in embryological theory, this crux appeared as a *linguistic* problem. In the *Convivio*, Dante described the production of a new human soul ('cotale produzione') as something that cannot be manifested in 'vulgar' language: 'non è cosa da manifestare a lingua, lingua, dico veramente, volgare'.<sup>72</sup> Bruno Nardi tried to remove from this statement any lament or disparagement of the vernacular tongue in particular, of which Dante is of course a champion – especially in the *Convivio*. Nardi explains that the origin of the human soul is just a difficulty for any human language to express, a secret of God, as Avicenna puts it.<sup>73</sup>

Yet perhaps the vulgarity of the language that cannot manifest the union of body and soul is still to the point in the *Convivio*, marking it as a didactic prose exposition (like a *volgarizzamento*) in contrast with the

complete vernacular poetic appropriation of philosophical thought undertaken in the *Commedia*. In revisiting the question in the poetic context, Dante has Statius say that it is a difficult point and a stumbling block, but also has him go ahead and state it – in the vulgar tongue and in vernacular verse – in fact in terms that directly echo Dante's manifesto of vernacular style in the previous canto. The only explicit reticence, so to speak, of the account of human generation in canto 25 is in reference to the genitals, 'ov' è più bello / tacer che dire' – itself a direct translation from the Latin *pudenda*. The crux of the matter becomes the transformation of an animal into a *speaking* thing, and has become cognate with the production of divinely inspired poetry in the vernacular.

Embryology is not just any topic of science to bring over into the vernacular. It is about how the divine inheres in the human, the immortal in the mortal, the spirit in the flesh. Dante's Virgil himself now understands parturition – Mary's giving birth to Christ – as the answer to the otherwise never-ending quest for knowledge ('mestier non era parturir Maria').<sup>74</sup> The goal of science is fulfilled only by the incarnation, by parturition, by rendering knowledge into flesh. This is what vernacularization, not mere *translatio*, can accomplish – and it can accomplish it best not in faithful prose exposition, but in the full incorporation and metamorphosis of Latin learning into vernacular song.

It is the vernacular that is repeatedly and insistently associated with the particular, the personal, the mortal, the procreational. That is why Brunetto's status as *vernacular* writer is crucial to his condemnation for sodomy, as it is for Guido Guinizelli when we revisit homosexuality in the purgatorial context on the other side of the embryological excursus.

The pilgrim's new understanding of the souls' aerial bodies after Statius' explanation is reinforced by the surprise of the penitents in the next canto that he alone on the mountain does not possess a 'fictitious body' ('corpo fittizio'). He explains to them that he has not yet abandoned his limbs in the world but that he is travelling in the company of their 'blood and joints'.<sup>75</sup> In the same passage, he links this continued attachment to the body to his capacity to write, to put pen to paper. As in the passage describing poetic inspiration, here too the poet's role is to trace onto paper, to make materially evident, what he hears said.<sup>76</sup>

Now on the terrace of lust, Dante converses with a soul who turns out to be the Bolognese poet, Guido Guinizelli, whom Dante describes as his father and father of better poets than himself who ever used sweet and

lovely rhymes of love ('il padre / mio e delli altri miei miglior che mai / rime d'amore usar dolci e leggiadre'). Yet, in perhaps a telltale sign of the vernacular mode, he compares his emotion upon seeing him to that of the sons of Licurgus upon seeing their *mother* again.<sup>77</sup> In the organization of Purgatory, based on the seven capital vices, rather than an Aristotelian categorization of criminal acts, there is no terrace of violence, let alone violence against nature. Homosexual lust is punished in the same place, in equal measure and evidently upon an equal portion of the population as heterosexual lust. Moreover, Dante takes pains to characterize heterosexuality as perverse, calling the sin 'hermaphrodite' and having the penitents shout out 'Pasiphae!' to liken their bestial passions to the lust of the queen for the bull.<sup>78</sup>

The exchange between Guinizelli and Dante is between a poet and his reader who, in turn, became a poet. Guinizelli describes Dante's as yet unexplained eagerness to do him service as a clear and indelible vestige that Lethe could not erase. It is oddly the reverse of the 'good and dear paternal image' of Brunetto Latini that was fixed in Dante's mind back in *Inferno* 15, because here it is the reader's response that leaves a mark on the poet. Dante goes on to explain the reason for his affection for Guinizelli in terms that strongly recall the parallel discourse of body and soul.

E io a lui: 'Li dolci detti vostri,  
che, quanto durerà l'uso moderno,  
faranno cari ancora i loro incostri.' (*Purgatorio* 26.112–14)

And I to him: 'Your sweet sayings that, as long as the modern use shall last, will make dear their very ink.'

This remarkable expression, calling attention to the ink that transmits Guinizelli's sayings even after his death, gives a wonderful codicological materiality to his poetry – like the paper that Dante says he can still make marks upon ('ancor carte ne verghi'). The discourse of procreation alongside the discourse of poetry makes us think about how poetry has a body as well as, perhaps, an inspired soul. It is not just that poetry is a *quid medium* between body and soul; like a whole human being, it *has* a body and a soul. Paper and ink are like the blood and joints that Dante alone carries with him up the mountain. They are material and concrete, yet also fragile and destined to die. Yet there is a second corporeality to Guinizelli's poetry alluded to in Dante's praise: the modern use. The vernacular – 'modern usage' – is mortal and evanescent, like ink that fades.

Despite Dante's certainly sincere affection for Guinizelli and the positive judgement on him conferred by his placement in *Purgatorio*, there is a poignant acknowledgement of the fragility of vernacular poetry. Even Beatrice's flattery of Virgil way back in *Inferno* 2, where she said his fame would last as long as the world should last, was shot through with the irony that from the eternal, that is her, perspective, that is not long at all. But Guinizelli's poetry is not likely to last nearly so long, only as long as 'the modern use shall last'. According to what Dante affirmed in the *Convivio*, in fifty years' time (which is already close to the date of the journey itself), many of his words will have passed away, and new ones will have been born and in a thousand years even Florentines will think it a foreign language. This fragility is what marks Guinizelli as a vernacular poet.

In response to Dante's adulation, Guinizelli courteously indicates the Provençal poet Arnaut Daniel, doing penance along with him on the terrace of lust, as 'the better smith of the mother tongue'.<sup>79</sup> The extraordinary compliment paid to Arnaut in the *Commedia* by having him speak in his own vernacular, untranslated, serves to emphasize the point about the vernacular. In a sort of palinode to the *Convivio*, where Dante lambasted Italians who praised the Occitan language above their own ('fanno vile lo parlare italico e prezioso quello di Provenza'), Guinizelli praises Arnaut as more skillful in the language which is, despite its differences, the same: the mother tongue. On the one hand, Occitan was so familiar to Italian poets at one point that some, like Sordello, chose to write in it. As we have seen earlier in this book, some of the earliest Italian poetry – such as 'Madonna, dir vo' voglio' – is translated from it. Dante, who used Arnaut's virtuoso metric form – the *sestina* – for poems in Italian about the 'stony lady', now has Arnaut use Dante's metric form – *terza rima* – to express himself in his native language. Yet although it may seem a matter of indifference to modern readers who are depending either on commentaries, translations or paraphrase to understand Dante anyway, these nine lines in a foreign language must have been rather jarring to readers who were comfortably following along in their own *volgare*. In other words, Dante includes Arnaut's own language not just to honour him with longer poetic fame, but to let readers feel on their flesh, so to speak, how vernacular poetry, even from not so far away and not so long ago, feels foreign and can begin to lose its hold – *if it does not get translated*.

The fact that Guinizelli can point out Arnaut Daniel as a better practitioner of the same art, indeed in the same language, the *parlar*

*materno*, suggests that Dante has not hitched his cart to a vernacular he expects to be triumphant and long-lived, but rather that he has made the choice for the vernacular despite, or even because of, its mortality. This is what makes truly radical 'a new, personal and vernacular, mode of authorship'.<sup>80</sup> Which vernacular is not the point: 'così o così', as Adam said, 'come v'abbella'. Although he may harbour a hope that the world, or the world that counts, will be conversant in some Italian idiom far into the future, due to some unforeseen colonial success or return to empire or – even more wild to imagine – because of a single poem, there was in his day no reason to think so.

My point is that, despite his best efforts and his great hopes, as expressed especially in his explicit remarks about the vernacular in the *Vita nova*, the *De vulgari* and the *Convivio*, Dante would have had no way of knowing that his own language would essentially become the national language of a united Italy some five hundred years hence, as well as a language read and understood throughout Europe. In the late fifteenth century, Italians were still lamenting that the vernacular had not achieved the prestige of Latin because not enough had been written in it, so clearly they did not think that Dante had done the job. Pietro Bembo, moreover, excluded Dante as a model in his codification of a literary vernacular in the sixteenth century. It is a tempting historical anachronism to see Dante's defence of the vernacular as prophetic of the success of the Italian language.

What I propose, then, is that Dante could have expected his poem, being made of both flesh *and* spirit, to survive *in translation*, in a way that Guinizelli's or other lyric poets' compositions would not. The *Commedia* is a poem rooted in the personal, historical flesh of a particular language, but is built to survive the inevitable obsolescence of that language – as indeed it has. Virgil himself first appears to Dante in the dark wood as if hoarse from long silence. But the real model for survival in translation would be Homer, universally honoured even though rendered utterly mute by the passage of time and the *translatio imperii et studii*.<sup>81</sup>

While Dante disdains what he seems to have seen as petty vernacularization that cares nothing for aesthetic beauty and aims only to serve the most immediate and local target audience, translation is inevitable and – for someone who hoped his verses would remain dear even after ink and the modern use had faded away – devoutly to be wished. He himself was a translator of philosophical, religious and poetic texts throughout his works. Cristoforo Landino declared that the *Commedia* was, in essence, a modern translation of the *Aeneid*.<sup>82</sup> The *Commedia* vernacularizes and

translates all these things into poetry, not prose, and in that sense the *Fiore*, for all its vulgarity, is quite Dantesque because unlike most other *volgarizzamenti*, it renders the great French poem into quintessentially Italian form (the sonnet).<sup>83</sup>

The *Commedia* had an audience primed by the ‘ocean’ of vernacularizations of classical, historical, encyclopedic and moral texts from the second half of the thirteenth century. These same vernacularizations Dante would disdain, not because he thought everyone should read the originals (as the humanists later would), but because, like Walter Benjamin, he thought that true translations should be not mere transmitters of content to readers but organic descendants of their literary fathers – or, since the vernacular is gendered feminine – of their literary mothers.

*A new life for translation: volgarizzamento  
after humanism*

Dante's critique of volgarizzamento had no immediate effect, and the *Divine Comedy*, as Dante probably anticipated, did not survive long without commentary and even translation. Andrea Lancia made his vernacular version of a Latin compendium of the *Aeneid* at the behest of Coppo di Borghese before Dante died (c.1316). One of the most prolific of translators in the early Trecento and long thought to be the author of the so-called *Ottimo commento*, Lancia has now been shown to be the transcriber of marginal glosses to the *Commedia* in which he both translates and paraphrases other texts himself and makes use of available volgarizzamenti.<sup>1</sup> The *Ottimo* commentary on the *Commedia* also makes frequent use of contemporary translations.<sup>2</sup> Dante's prestige had already become such within his own lifetime that he is regularly cited as an authority in vernacular translations of and commentary on the ancient *auctores*. For example, glosses to the Tuscan *Rimedi d'amore* (with which Lancia is also connected) equate Ovid's noble audience with Dante's 'amor ch'al cor gentil ratto s'apprende'.<sup>3</sup> Ciampòlo di Meo degli Ugurgieri's complete *Eneide*, which made use of or was used for Andrea Lancia's shorter version, thick with marginal and interlinear glosses, makes ample reference to passages in *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*.<sup>4</sup>

Thus Dante was co-opted in the vernacularization of the classics and his poem, far from reining in the prose vernacularization movement, gave it courage. In his version of Boethius made in a Venetian prison between 1322 and 1332, Alberto della Piagentina not only imitates Dante's prose style and uses *terza rima* for the metrical portions but also seems to have borrowed from Dante's *Convivio* at a time when it was not widely known.<sup>5</sup> As we have seen, Giovanni Boccaccio may have taken on the translation of the fourth, if not also the third, decade of Livy's *Ab urbe condita*, of Valerius Maximus, and reworked the vernacular glosses of the Ovid's books of love.<sup>6</sup> But by the end of the century, the vogue for vernacularization had run its course and the



*Commedia*, as its author perhaps foresaw, will have in fact received at least two partial translations into Latin.<sup>7</sup>

Petrarch might be credited with single-handedly bringing the first phase of *volgarizzamenti* to an end as, on his example, the intellectual avant-garde turned its energies towards the recovery of ancient Latin literature through its language, as well as the recovery of Greek literature, by translating it into Latin, starting with Homer (*factus est latinus*).<sup>8</sup> On his personal copy of Leontius Pilate's translation of the *Iliad*, Petrarch recalled in an epigraph Jerome's warning that trying to render Homer in Latin prose would render him speechless.<sup>9</sup> Petrarch had no theory of translation; his disdain for the vernacular meant *volgarizzamento* was out of the question, and his lack of Greek made him unqualified to read the Greek books he owned, let alone translate them. His sole foray into the genre, which would turn out to be one of the most successful ever, was an effort to undo what vernacularization had done.

The first age of *volgarizzamento* was thus circumscribed by the age of Latin humanism that followed upon it. We have seen that translation work done by many hands over time, involving continuous consultation, collation and contamination of any and all available versions, leads eventually back to a rereading of the sources, by those who can, and a reconsideration of the past as untranslatable. As mentioned in the Introduction and demonstrated in the layered glosses to the vernacular Valerius Maximus in Chapter 2, *volgarizzamento* contains the seeds of its own destruction, because the desire for greater understanding that motivates it will lead ultimately to a desire for a greater understanding of the source language, ostensibly cancelling the need for vernacular versions. This is how *volgarizzamento* leads to Latin philology, which would seem to be its opposite. At the same time, the more historical understanding of Latin itself that came about as a result of philological interest eventually suggested that the vernacular did not have to be seen as categorically inferior and could be enriched by its literary exercise. When vernacularization re-emerges on the other side of humanism, it is a different project – one more similar to the politically motivated programme of affirming national language thought to be typical of vernacularization in Europe.<sup>10</sup> In this concluding chapter, a brief look at the attitudes towards the vernacular and towards translation that emerged at the end of the first phase of *volgarizzamento* will help bring into focus the distinctiveness of the earlier period that has been the subject of this book.

An emblematic watershed between the two periods is Petrarch's translation of the hundredth tale of the *Decameron* into Latin in 1374. In his

penultimate letter to Boccaccio, written towards the end of both their lives, he conveyed his judgement on the *Decameron* by sending along his spontaneous Latin translation of apparently the only tale in it worth saving. Not only does the 'father of humanism' reverse the tide by flipping one of the very major accomplishments of the vernacular back into the grammatical language, he chooses to do it with a tale of re-clothing that he was perhaps the first to see is itself a parable of translation. In this way, his dressing up of the humble vernacular novella has the opposite effect of vernacularization. While *volgarizzamento* put high culture into the hands of the *volgo* and, explicitly, of women, Petrarch's elevation of Griselda to the Latin idiom takes her, explicitly, out of the hands of the female audience to whom the *Decameron* was addressed.<sup>11</sup>

In Chapter 1, we saw how anxiety about widespread, uncontrolled vernacular translation could be and was seen as parallel with the contemporary obsession with legislating female dress by means of sumptuary law. The change of dress would cheapen something previously reserved for an elite. Petrarch's gesture of translation, as modern critics have seen, is parallel with the character Gualtieri's transformation of a peasant into a marchionness by taking off her clothes and putting on more regal ones.<sup>12</sup> As Carolyn Dinshaw pointed out, this change of dress is rather more similar to what Jerome described in the preface to his translation of Eusebius used by Dante in the *Convivio* and quoted by Petrarch at the head of his copy of the new Latin Homer. Just as Gualtieri perceives Griselda's true worth beneath her poor dress, so Jerome suggests that readers must look beyond, or underneath, the 'repugnant clothing' of translation in order to appreciate the underlying beauty of translated works. Petrarch, like Gualtieri and Jerome, could see nobility underlying rags. His gesture is the opposite of vernacularization, removing Griselda from a popular work addressed to women, and recontextualizing her in the aristocracy of Latin letters.

Petrarch sends his Griselda to Boccaccio in response to a brief perusal of the *Decameron*, which Petrarch belittles, calling it 'a work in the mother tongue, from your youth, I believe'.<sup>13</sup> He cannot say how the book arrived in his hands, transmitted through some anonymous network of dissemination, and he claims not really to have read it, being occupied with more pressing concerns, but only to have flipped through the large prose volume, written for the *vulgus*, like a harried book-reviewer, paying a bit more attention to its beginning and its end. He excuses its lascivious parts in view of Boccaccio's age when he wrote it, its style, its idiom, the superficiality of the subject and of the readers of such things. Only the last

story, so different from the preceding ones, pleased Petrarch so much that he forgot his other concerns ('*immemorem me fecere*') and decided to memorize it ('*illam memorie mandare voluerim*').

In the first phase of his reception of the novella, Petrarch transforms it from literary work, contrived by an author (*librum tuum*) to an artefact of oral storytelling. Though scholars have not succeeded in locating Boccaccio's source for the Griselda tale, Petrarch claims that he had heard it before ('*cum et michi semper ante multos annos audita placuisset*'). He learns it by heart in order to repeat it in conversation with friends, which earns him great social success. Presumably, unless Petrarch's friends were as comfortable as he in conversational Latin, these tellings must have taken place in a spoken dialect. The next step is for Petrarch to pluck the story from this oral context he has given it, and to write it down.

Just as Boccaccio had not deemed the story unworthy to be put into his, 'vulgar' style at the end of his long work ('*vulgari eam stilo tuo censueris non indignam et fine operis*'), Petrarch is seized with the idea of writing it down and grabs his pen. That is, in this telling, Petrarch himself becomes the transcriber of what had become, or what was in origin, an oral tale. He describes himself as Boccaccio's translator – '*rerum interpretem me tuarum*' – and cites Horace's famous dictum on poesis as translation, thereby justifying his infidelities: '*Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus / interpres*'. In putting the 'sweet story' into his 'own words' ('*historiam tuam meis verbis*'), Petrarch would seem to be effecting a *volgarizzamento*, in the sense that he is appropriating it into his own idiom. Like any translation, its purpose is to make it available to people who do not understand our language ('*nostri etiam sermonis ignaros*'). Yet Petrarch's 'own' words are not the modern dialect he shares with his fellow-Florentine, but rather Latin, of which Petrarch makes himself out to be a kind of native speaker. Who else but Petrarch, modern representative of antiquity, converses with the ancients as if they were still alive?

Whether Petrarch has disfigured or adorned the story by changing its clothing (*mutata veste*), Boccaccio is to be the judge. Like Giannucolo in the story whose daughter is undressed and redressed by the marquis and subsequently sent back to him stripped anew, Boccaccio should receive this re clothed Griselda, because she originated from him, and he, as author, must take responsibility for her. By the end of the dedication, calling Boccaccio author has become little more than a gesture of courtesy. If Boccaccio wrote down a tale already in circulation, and Petrarch wrote down that same tale, it is not clear how Boccaccio is any more an author than Petrarch. Boccaccio in any case is only the author of a vulgar work;

Petrarch is the author of a dignified Latin *exemplum*. Uncannily, Petrarch has done an end run around Boccaccio to become the Latin author of a text of which Boccaccio is merely the *volgarizzatore*.

Petrarch concludes the tale by explicitly taking it away from women as its main audience, as critics have noticed.

Here is the story that I saw fit to reweave in another style, not so much so that matrons of our day should imitate the patience of this wife, which seems to me hardly imitable, but so that it might excite readers to imitate at least the constancy of this woman.<sup>14</sup>

He is taking it away from women, because he is taking it out of their language, the language in which the *Decameron* was written for their consolation, the language that often uses women as a pretext. *Matronas* are clearly opposed to *legentes*, so that Petrarch has turned it into a story for male readers – *litterati* – as has often been pointed out. He is also excluding a *modern* audience ('nostri temporis') aiming either at people of other times or at people who are not *of* the times but belong to the rarefied time of literature, the supranational, supratemporal 'republic of letters'.

In the second letter Petrarch goes on, incredibly, to brag to Boccaccio of the first success of his translation. The first reader is a Paduan 'friend of ours' of superior intelligence and great knowledge, who bursts into tears halfway through. Unable to get to the end, reading and weeping ('flente ac legente') he hands it to another very learned man ('docto satis') to finish. A short time later another reader, a Veronese, very intelligent and also a friend of theirs – 'because we have everything in common' – is able to read through without emotion. He serves as the 'bad' reader, because he is unmoved by literature. Petrarch observes that such a reader would be equally indifferent to the exemplary histories of ancient heroes – men and women – such as Curius, Mucius, Portia *et alia*. And finally, he goes on to describe even less worthy readers – spies at the border who open mail. He imagines something that so charms their donkey ears, they write it down. What disgusts Petrarch most is that these are people who understand nothing, gluttonous for knowledge, but with slow digestion.<sup>15</sup> Thus in these two valedictory letters, Petrarch records the transformation of a popular work into a Latin *exemplum* and the range of its possible reception thus transformed.

It is not clear that even Petrarch anticipated the truly immense reception his translation would actually have. Despite his characterization of a new elite audience for the altered tale – learned friends 'of ours' – it was his Latin translation that rendered Boccaccio's hundredth tale an all-time

bestseller. An inventory of works that issued directly from Petrarch's translation has 345 entries, divided into seven centuries and twenty-two languages and consisting of translations, paraphrases, adaptations, longer and shorter summaries, expanded versions, in prose, poetry, drama and novels.<sup>16</sup>

The best-known and most discussed of these is certainly Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale*, to which it is worth turning briefly to recall how it is exactly opposite in intent to Petrarch's translation of Boccaccio's original. Chaucer's tale is evidence of Petrarch's success in turning his translation into the authoritative source. The story becomes a clerical one in origin, learned from a 'worthy clerk' in the university town of Padua. 'Fraunceys Petrak' is fully an *auctor*, not to mention a dead white male – not only a 'lauriat poete', but also 'now deed and nayled in his cheste'.<sup>17</sup>

I wol yow telle a tale which that I  
Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk,  
As preved by his wordes and his werk.  
He is now deed and nayled in his cheste,  
I prey to God so yeve his soule reste!  
Frauncys Petrak, the lauriat poete,  
Highte this clerk, whose rethorike sweete  
Enlumyned al Ytaille of poetrie. (lines 26–33)

As readers have noted, Chaucer's clerk performs an act of vulgarization, reorienting the work to his audience of pilgrims interested in adventure stories, not in the high, written style, but in plain spoken language as the Host had requested.

Telle us som murie thyng of aventures.  
Youre termes, youre colours, and youre figures,  
Keepe hem in stoor til so be that ye endite  
Heigh style, as whan that men to kynges write.  
Speketh so pleyn at this tyme, we yow preye,  
That we may understonde what ye seye. (lines 15–20)

The clerk has also redirected it towards women – 'O noble wyves, ful of heigh prudence' (line 1183), particularly the Wife of Bath, and completely changed the message of the tale, concluding that, unlike patient Griselda, they should 'suffreth nat that men yow doon offense' (line 119).

Chaucer's Griselda is a vernacularization – for women, for a popular audience, in clear language, though it derives from a learned, clerky, distant source. Like many Italian *volgarizzatori*, Chaucer seems also to have made use of a French intermediary. Yet he produces not a prose

explication but a poetic *translatio*, what Rita Copeland calls secondary translation, and what Dante would no doubt have considered a more fruitful kind of undertaking than straight *volgarizzamento*.<sup>18</sup> By returning the tale to the vernacular, feminizing context from which Petrarch had removed it, Chaucer's version underscores for us how Petrarch's move was against the grain of his time – *nostri temporis* – and inaugural of a new time and the movement away from the vernacular that his example would foster: Latin humanism.

The story of the turn away from the vernacular is well known. It starts as early as Giovanni del Virgilio's complaints (c.1320) to Dante about writing the sacred poem in the wrong language.<sup>19</sup> The *locus classicus* is Leonardo Bruni's Latin dialogue among his humanist friends from the early years of the fifteenth century in which the appalling mistranslation in the episode of Statius is adduced as damning evidence of the vernacular poet's illiteracy.

Do we not often see him erring in such a way that he seems to have been utterly ignorant? He very obviously did not know what was meant by those words of Virgil's, To what do you not drive mortal hearts, accursed hunger for gold? – which words have never been doubtful to anyone of even moderate learning – since although they were spoken against avarice, he took them as a curse on prodigality.<sup>20</sup>

The character of Niccolò Niccoli goes on to ask whether we should not be ashamed to call poet someone who does not know how to speak Latin, let alone place him above Virgil. He says that 'istum poetam tuum' should be removed from the council of the *litterati* and relegated to the woolworkers, bakers and the crowd of others of that sort. Petrarch, too, has become poet of the people (*universi populi*), seduced by 'I know not what baubles', because that is what such things that are handed over to the *vulgus* to read should be called ('quae isti in vulgus legenda tradiderunt'). The word *tradiderunt* suggests the betrayal of translation (*traduttore, traditore*), especially popular translation.<sup>21</sup> On the next day of the dialogue, Niccoli retracts, explaining the apparent mistranslation of *Purgatorio* 22 as wilful – noting that the character Virgil also misunderstands the situation. This reversal is symptomatic of Bruni's unwillingness to condemn the fourteenth-century writers that were a source of Florence's municipal pride, even as he rejects their vernacular example.

Similar disparaging associations of Dante with the lower classes are reported by Domenico da Prato ('they say that Dante's books should be

given to the grocers to use as wrapping paper, or rather to the delicatessen to put salted fish in, since he wrote *vulgarmente*’) and by Cino Rinuccini: (‘they say that Dante Alighieri is the poet of cobblers’).<sup>22</sup> This association of Dante with humble arts goes back not just to Sacchetti’s tale of the blacksmith, which we discussed in Chapter 1, but to Dante’s own metaphorical association of the vocation of *fabbro* (smith) with that of vernacular poets (Chapter 5).

In Cino Rinuccini’s caricature of those who would insult vernacular culture, Latinists are interested only in the pedantic, useless part of grammar – how many diphthongs the ancients had, and why only two exist today, which style of Latin is better, the comic Terence or the polished heroic of Virgil, and how many feet the ancients used in their poetic meter, and why today the ‘anapesto di quatro brevi’ has fallen into disuse. The purpose of such discussions is not to satisfy their own desire for knowledge, but to impress the *vulgo* in the square with their learning.<sup>23</sup> This suggests that, even if vernacularization is out of fashion, it is the illiterate crowd of one’s contemporaries to which these hollow modern pedants still appeal. They are likewise concerned not with the content of literature but only its exterior, formal aspects: how many books Titus Livy composed and why some are lost, how Valerius Maximus is too brief, and Livy cut off. They dislike poetic histories because they are ‘favole da femmine e da fanciugli’ and the greatest teller of such tales was Giovanni Boccaccio whom they say knew no Latin. Their snobbery is such that they mock even the Latin works of Petrarch as mere Lenten notebooks (*zibaldoni da quaresima*).<sup>24</sup>

Rinuccini equates the humanist disdain for vernacular literature with a disdain for the sciences. Dante’s vernacularity is closely associated with his mastery of philosophy (which he ascribes to his character Virgil only out of deference). The feat of scientific vernacularization that seems to have impressed Rinuccini the most, as he refers to it twice, is precisely the lesson on embryology in *Purgatorio* 25, that we have seen is parallel to Dante’s notion of poesis.<sup>25</sup>

Rinuccini’s invective begins with a fantastic journey of exile, or religious pilgrimage, along crusading routes – far from Florence – in extensive geographic and toponomastic detail. The purpose of this elaborate prologue seems to be to say how far he has to travel so as not to hear the noise of anti-vernacular discourse in the square. He puts himself, like Petrarch and Dante, in the greater authority of exile and reduces the Latinists to petty local pedants vying for attention in their hometown. Yet the fact that Rinuccini’s invective survives only in the vernacular and

not in the Latin in which it was written is part of a quieter story of the continuity of readership of vernacular literature throughout the period.

As Mirko Tavoni observes, although Latin is unquestionably the dominant idiom of literary culture throughout the fifteenth century, the written production in the vernacular (in merchants' letters, account-books, and *memorie* and divulgative religious writing of preachers) is more voluminous.<sup>26</sup> Their habit of reading and writing in the vernacular meant that there remained an audience for vernacular literature even after the cultural elite had abandoned it. In the 1390s, somebody was copying out the sedimented glosses to the vernacular *Valerio Massimo*, as we saw in Chapter 2. A humanist grammarian and close friend of Petrarch offered Boccaccio's *Donne famose* and Petrarch's *Uomini illustri* to Niccolò d'Este on the occasion of his wedding in 1397. Petrarch's *Itinerarium*, *Invective contra medicos* and *De remediis utriusque fortunae* were also put into the vernacular before the turn of the century. Vernacular versions continued to be made of religious works, and the old ones continued to be copied together with other vernacular literature of the Trecento (Chapter 4). In the corpus of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Decameron*, Vittore Branca was able to discern a legion of non-professional scribes, borrowing books from each other to make their own copies 'for their own pleasure' and 'their own consolation'. Many of these 'merchant-writers', as Christian Bec called them, also kept memory books, some of which contain volgarizzamenti alongside extracts of other vernacular literature.<sup>27</sup>

The title *Zibaldone quaresimale* (Lenten notebook), which Rinuccini claimed was slapped sarcastically onto Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*, is what wealthy patron Giovanni Rucellai (d. 1481) called his memory book that he kept and added onto for thirty years. It contains excerpts from his reading – including a volgarizzamento of the letters of Seneca – observations, chronicles, works that are recycled from other works (e.g. *Trattato del governo della famiglia*), and some compositions of his own, much of which was copied by scribes but some, especially in the interlinear and marginal glosses, by Giovanni himself. Reader, writer, author, copyist, compiler, Giovanni engages in both verbatim copying (Perosa calls it *calque*) and contamination, all the time treating much of what is in the *Zibaldone* as though it were his own original work.<sup>28</sup>

Another document of the continuity of private vernacular reading and writing of literature is the *zibaldone* penned by Antonio Pucci (d. 1388) Florentine town crier and author of popular verse works, such as the one about street life in the Mercato Vecchio. In his *zibaldone* he copied out for



himself pieces by Dante, Brunetto Latini, Cecco d'Ascoli, Giovanni Villani, translated works by Marco Polo and Andreas Capellanus, the *Fiore d'Italia* by Guido da Pisa (in part a translation of the *Aeneid*), and Bono Giamboni's translation of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (*Fiore di rettorica*). Giuliano Tanturli calls it a *summa* of illiterate culture in Florence at the end of the century, yet goes on to show how it was carefully conserved and added on to as a memory book by the family that inherited it, well into the Quattrocento.<sup>29</sup>

In 1399, Lorenzo Benci filled up some blank pages of the *zibaldone* with some *canzoni* by Dante and part of Cavalcante's *Donna me prega*, and over time intervened to correct – on the basis of other books he had in his library – annotations made by Pucci. In the blank space left where Cavalcante's poem might have been finished, Lorenzo's son Filippo added Dante's 'Io mi son pargoletta' and filled in more of Dante's poems in blank spaces elsewhere in the manuscript. The family continued to add vernacular texts, such as Fazio degli Uberti's sonnets on the capital vices, a fragment of a *cantare* on Tristan and another on the Trojan War – even as they used the manuscript to record important family events. Tanturli has reconstructed the Benci library from the punctilious notes and dates they left in their books. We find them in the 1440s copying out popular vernacular works such as Andrea da Barberino's *Guerrin Meschino*, Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo* and Boccaccio's *Filostrato* and *Elegia di madonna Fiammetta*. In their library they also had an anthology of religious works – including some by their friend, Feo Belcari (Chapter 4), a Florentine history by Gregorio Dati, vulgarizzamenti of the *Secretum Secretorum* and of Aristotle's *Ethics*, vernacular translations of letters by Petrarch and others, and other *diciere e pistole*. They also boasted a number of humanist works either written in the vernacular or translated into it, such as the retranslation of Cicero's *Pro Marcello* attributed to Leonardo Bruni. Filippo Benci frequently completed manuscripts that were missing pages or parts, using other copies he had of the same material.

The transcription and annotation of vernacular manuscripts in this period attests to a continuous cultivation of vernacular literature even in the years when humanist enthusiasm had dampened its production. In 1434 Matteo Palmieri reaches out to this audience by writing a long humanist dialogue in the vernacular on the topic of civic virtues. He justifies his choice of language in *Della vita civile* by adopting Dante's motive in the *Convivio* of sharing ancient wisdom on this crucial topic with those who know no Latin. These *volgari* (he does not call them

*illiterati*) are full of good intentions and the desire to live virtuously but lack the precepts to guide them in civic life – the ‘ocean’ of *volgarizzamenti* notwithstanding. He discounts the whole extant repertory – all those translated works on precisely the subject of a civic ethos, from Cicero to Sallust to Livy – because of their poor quality.

Turning towards my dear citizens, I was pained within myself when I saw many of them who desired to live well and virtuously lacking in innumerable precepts that would have helped them in their good intention, through no fault of their own: only because they had no knowledge of the Latin language. Examining which authors would be suited to give enough knowledge to the *volgari*, I found few that could help much with the life of the virtuous, because the ones that are vernacularized (that in their originals, written in Latin, are most elegant, sententious and weighty) are corrupted through the ignorance of the *volgarizzatori* in such a way that many of those that are very worthy in Latin are laughable. Moreover, I would be even more laughable if I tried to show that Cicero, Livy or Virgil and the many other vernacularized authors were in any way similar to the originals, because they no more resemble their models than would one of Giotto's most perfect figures drawn by the hand of someone who had never used pencil nor pen resemble its model. Even though it had a nose, eyes, mouth and all its limbs, it would be nonetheless as different as anyone can imagine. And maybe, if he drew Gabriel with his wings, you would not be able to tell it apart from the infernal Lucifer.<sup>30</sup>

Although appreciating their achievements, Palmieri also denies that any of the ‘three crowns’ had treated the subject in a satisfactory manner. The only solution is for people to learn Latin. Fortunately, he says, today's instruction in Latin is not your grandfather's Latin class: ‘Today in very brief time one sees many writing and speaking in Latin with such elegance that one never spoke so tolerably in one's whole life through the teachers of our fathers.’<sup>31</sup> Yet the claim that Latin has become accessible runs contrary to the very motivation for Palmieri's work: people still do not know Latin very well, or well enough, and they are still relying on those appalling old translations.

The educational programme of the humanists, in which the vernacular would ideally have no part, nonetheless depended on certain practices that were already widespread in the culture of *volgarizzamento*. In exercises recommended to their students, humanists emphasize transcription, glossing and translation. Battista Guarino advises students not just to listen to their teachers, but also to read and take notes on the commentators for themselves. He suggests that students should compose glosses competitively, in expectation that they will be read by others, so that they will apply greater effort in pursuit of praise. Battista Guarino affirms that this

sort of writing – transcription and gloss – sharpens the wit, polishes the tongue, gives fluency to writing and builds a memory storehouse of factual information.<sup>32</sup>

To learn Greek, students are also advised to write things down constantly, rather than relying on memory. Yet while in Latin class no one is allowed to use a crib, translations are essential in the study of Greek. Students are told to make use of translations and to translate ‘either from Greek into Latin or from Latin into Greek’ because ‘many things which may be invisible to a reader are impossible for a translator to overlook’.<sup>33</sup> For learning Latin, Leonardo Bruni similarly advises a woman, Battista Malatesta, not only to read aloud but to practise writing. But because she is evidently not expected to know Greek, he advises her to read the Greek fathers in translation, so long as they are ‘converted’ into Latin and not ‘perverted’.<sup>34</sup>

Bruni might be plugging his own work here, since St Basil’s *Oratio ad adolescentes* was among his pioneering translations of Greek literature, although it was the only Christian text he translated. A fundamental difference between the old *volgarizzamenti* and these new translations is the latter’s lack of inhibition. There is no anxiety in Bruni’s presentation of his versions about the perils of translation. He simply makes mute authors speak. ‘Let us listen to Basil’, he says at the end of his dedication to his teacher, Coluccio Salutati.<sup>35</sup> In the prologue to his translation of Plutarch’s Life of Mark Antony, to anyone who objects that because of their antiquity these things cannot be put in to Latin, because they are written in Greek, Bruni responds, ‘Why not?’<sup>36</sup> Far from apologizing for the inevitable shortcomings of translation, he complains of the ingratitude suffered by translators who are blamed for all errors while the original author is praised for all merits.<sup>37</sup> Bringing us back to the sartorial comparison, Bruni admits that Greek might be more copious than Latin but affirms that ‘our Latinity’ is like a sober and dignified matron whose ornaments, while not extravagant, are sufficient to every use.<sup>38</sup>

Where Bruni encountered controversy was not in those translations that brought previously inaccessible texts to a Latin readership, but rather in his polemic retranslation of old scholastic standbys, in particular the *Nicomachean Ethics*. In the *Convivio*, Dante had complained that Taddeo Alderotti had disfigured Aristotle’s *Ethics*, though the text Alderotti was using to start with was already a translation and, moreover, a compendium.<sup>39</sup> But Bruni reveals to his contemporaries that the Aristotle they know is a monstrosity compared with the elegance and beauty of the Greek original. His retranslation and response to criticism of it constitute

an indictment not only of those clumsy word-for-word translations, but of scholastic culture in general. According to his own account, Bruni's translation became very popular, but it seems this popularity was limited mostly to Italy, among patricians educated in the elegant Latin style.<sup>40</sup>

In response, the Spanish bishop, Alfonso de Cartagena, defended the old translations, associating their very clumsiness with precision of terminology and scientific exactness. At first prepared to applaud Bruni's effort, he was scandalized when he realized that the Italian's intent was not to gloss the books of the *Ethics*, but to replace them.<sup>41</sup> The goals of equivalence and substitution were not the goals of scholastic translation, just as they were not those of commentary or of vernacularization which, as we have seen, *is* commentary. Cartagena condemns the 'dressing up' of science with pleasing rhetorical eloquence. The alien sound of the old translations, following foreign syntax and leaving many Greek (and Arabic) words untranslated, was fundamental to the establishment of a precise scientific lexicon, to which the commentary tradition and the university curriculum referred. Cartagena says that the wise man will only use persuasive eloquence to 'hand down' a science after he has discussed the matter with the restricted and proper scientific vocabulary.<sup>42</sup> Cartagena admits that the old translation seems at first to 'repel manfully the violence of the reader' but that it can be 'forced by a zealous mind or with the help of glosses to give forth understanding'.<sup>43</sup>

Commentary is seen as the necessary complement to the Aristotelian textbooks, to explicate odd-sounding terms or obscure passages, to break down the resistance of the text. Bruni's translation would be unusable with any of that apparatus, which had been accrued over centuries of scholastic teaching and learning. Moreover, a commentary can be adjusted to conform with the facts as knowledge advances. Conservatism in the received text renders possible the continual updating of commentary, and therefore of knowledge. When Bruni responds that obviously the only thing that counts in translation is saying the same thing in another language, he is willfully ignoring the cultural and linguistic differences that oblige the *volgarizzatori* to use more or fewer words and the commentators to do their job.

In his response Bruni maintains that he can remain both faithful and entirely Latin. He abhors the notion of borrowing words from any other language – whether from Greek, German, French or Spanish – to fill in a perceived deficiency in Latin. He accuses the old translator of 'begging amid the riches of the Latin language, not knowing his own poverty'.<sup>44</sup> While he ridicules the bishop for arguing that a translator 'ought not to

respect Aristotle's word, but rather should translate into Latin what he ought to have said', Bruni is singularly convinced that his own translation would be innocent of any betrayal of the original: 'Alteration is the translator's sin'.<sup>45</sup>

Kristeller thought that Cartagena came around to Bruni's point of view because he produced a Spanish *volgarizzamento* that claims in the manuscript to be based on Bruni, but in fact it seems to be a rather reactionary return not only to the *Summa Alexandrinorum*, but to Taddeo Alderotti's Italian version of it.<sup>46</sup> Giannozzo Manetti, another Florentine humanist, displaced to Naples, undertook a new version of the *Nicomachean Ethics* perhaps at the encouragement of the Angevin king but with the aim of correcting Bruni's excess. Paul Botley observes that Giannozzo's version is more difficult than Bruni's, 'but less misleading', made in expectation that the reader would be using a commentary.<sup>47</sup>

This controversy over the *Ethics* is what gave rise to Bruni's treatise on translation, the first since antiquity. The *De recta interpretatione* is perhaps the most optimistic statement about translation ever made: 'The strength of all translations consists in this: that what is written in one language be correctly brought over into another'. It can be done, provided one has what it takes. In the first place, no one can do this without frequent and vast experience of both languages. Nor is that enough, because many people are able to understand things that they cannot then explain, just as appreciating a picture does not mean you can paint one yourself, or understanding the art of music mean you can sing.<sup>48</sup>

The knowledge of languages required by the translator must not be small or, Bruni says, *vulgaris* – by which he evidently means superficial.<sup>49</sup> Yet this word reminds us not only that neither of the languages he is talking about here is the *volgare*, but also that, according to Bruni, scholastic Latin (not the Italian vernaculars) was in his mind a vulgar descendant of classical Latin. A 'vulgar' knowledge of a language is opposed to the kind one gets by means of regular and careful daily reading of the philosophers, the orators, the poets and all other writers. Anyone who has not read all these authors, who has not turned them over and over in every part, cannot understand the significance of the words. Despite the difficulties that make translation a task to which only a very few – perhaps only Bruni himself – are equal, there is no sense at all that perfect translation is impossible. He repeats his disdain for people who are unable to find equivalents, so that their Latin translation ends up looking *semigreca*. In particular he objects to the terms *oligarchiam*, *democratiam*

and *aristocratiam*, saying that they should be rendered as *paucorum potentiam*, *popularem statum* and *optimorum gubernationem*.<sup>50</sup>

Gianfranco Folena takes Bruni's treatise to be a manifesto of modern translation, well before those of Juan Luis Vives and Martin Luther, emblemized by his use of the new term, *traductio*, and related words, which were soon picked up even in the vernacular. *Traductio*, with its etymological connection to *dux*, gives the sense of an individual mind guiding the translation, as opposed to some nebulous, anonymous, or inherited version. While Frederick Renier may be right that Folena has invested a single term with more than it can bear since, for example, the treatise that is supposed to be a manifesto of this new kind of translation used the ancient term – *interpretatio* – in its title, nonetheless the practice of translation is undeniably changed.<sup>51</sup>

Bruni's theory and practice of translation presumes an equivalence between two languages that simply did not exist before, however faithful the translators claimed to be. He himself gives expression to the idea that this could be true of the vernacular as well in his 1436 *Life of Dante*: 'Writing in the literary or vernacular style does not matter; there is no more difference than in writing Greek or Latin.'<sup>52</sup> Stefano Baldassarri warns us about accepting at face value this statement made specifically about poetry and in the context of a work of municipal propaganda, designed to please and flatter the *volgo*. Rather than cancelling the divide between the vernacular and grammatical languages, Baldassarri argues, Bruni maintains Latin and the vernacular on two separate planes so that the latter may not 'contaminate' the former.<sup>53</sup>

The notion of the inherent divide between literate and vulgar idioms is central to Bruni's side of the fifteenth-century debate over the vernacular of the ancient Romans. Bruni took the position that the modern situation of *diglossia*, in which the language people commonly spoke was not the one they used to write books, existed also in ancient times.<sup>54</sup> Just as there is a continuity between the Latin of Cicero and the Latin of the humanists, the modern *volgare* descended from an ancient *sermo vulgaris*. The opposing position, represented by Flavio Biondo and nearly everybody else, is that ancient Romans spoke as they wrote, but that the fall of the Roman empire effected a linguistic decline that produced the modern vernaculars. The *volgare* is the result of a pollution stemming from the barbarian invasions.

Although Bruni's position made the modern world seem more similar to the ancient one – not a fallen version – it made more rigid the distinction between *sermo litteratus* and *sermo vulgaris*. The *illiterati* do

not have access to a literate language and therefore to literature deserving the name. Indeed Leon Battista Alberti, great champion of the *volgare* in those years, took the side of Biondo, because the notion of a single language, now fallen, suggested the possibility of its redemption. For Alberti, to follow the example of antiquity would be to write learned and worthy things in the language of one's own society.<sup>55</sup> Leonardo Bruni himself did not, like Petrarch, entirely avoid writing in vernacular prose. He claims he took on the *Vite* of Dante and Petrarch as respite from more difficult work. He may be the author of the retranslation of Cicero's *Pro Marcello*, which shows much greater adherence to Latin vocabulary and syntax, even as it seems also to take Brunetto Latini's version into account. And he is certainly the author, in imitation of Petrarch, not only of a Latin translation of a tale from the *Decameron*, but also, not to be outdone, of a vernacular 'addition', so to speak, of a new tale that is ostentatiously derived from Greek literature.<sup>56</sup>

With respect to Greek, Latin had become the 'natural' language. Battista Guarinus says that 'Greek is not a natural language for us'.<sup>57</sup> In translation from Greek, Latin must be defended – not dressed up in another woman's gaudy clothes – but made to show the beauty of what belongs to her. Translation into Latin was so much a part of Bruni's literary industry that he engaged in it even when he was supposed to be writing something original.<sup>58</sup> Bruni compares history writing to translation in the preface to his life of Marcus Antony translated from Plutarch,

But in history, where there is no [need for] invention, I fail to see any difference between describing actual deeds and writing down what someone else has said. Either way the labour involved is the same, or rather even greater in the latter case.<sup>59</sup>

Both history and translation involve restating what others have said. His first work of history, *Cicero novus*, grew out of his translation of Plutarch's Life of Cicero, with which he came to disagree. Writing an alternative biography of the great man required the consultation of other sources 'with a maturer digestion'. What differentiates a translator from a writer is the use of his own will and judgement ('non ut interpretes, sed pro nostro arbitrio voluntateque').<sup>60</sup> In his *Comentarii*, meant to supplement the missing books of Livy on the Punic War, he differentiates translation from history writing by the number of sources employed. 'I have not', he writes, 'drawn from a single source, like a translator, but rather, having drawn from many, I have reported according to my own judgement' ('non ab uno sumerem, ut interpres, sed a multis sumpta meo arbitratu

referrem'). Although the *Comentarii* is so close to the first two books of Polybius' *Histories* that some have classified it as a translation from the Greek, he does indeed alter Polybius to 'make the Romans look better' and to make his history more consonant with Livy's. Ianziti suggests that his use of Polybius to supplement Livy made him aware of how dependent the Roman author was on Polybius in the first place. In his final work of history, however, Bruni used a single source – Procopius – thereby nullifying his own essential distinction between translation and history. Translation had become history. All writing, just as was well understood in the Middle Ages, is rewriting.

Bruni's efforts were in the direction of renewing the Latin language, to make it a vehicle of expression equal to what the ancients had. His knowledge of Greek both dethroned Latin as the supreme 'scientific' language and made it seem, by contrast, the natural language. The cultivation and elaboration of a natural language by means of translation was not the stated purpose of the old *volgarizzatori* (although it was Dante's). The awareness of Latin as a historical language, rendered eloquent by the industry of its authors, opened up the possibility that the vernacular could do the same.

Lorenzo Valla (c.1406–57) had an even more competitive view of translation. For him, the goal was not equivalence, but conquest. While Bruni had to argue that Latin was equal to whatever Greek could offer, for Valla Latin translation was a form of colonization of Greek culture. He imagines the new translations as replacing the originals, thereby reducing the need for instruction in the foreign language (Greek as opposed to Latin). These new Latin translations turn dead texts into living ones by bringing them into conformity with 'the rhetorical expectations of a contemporary elite culture motivated by the ideal of eloquence'.<sup>61</sup> Valla, the great philologist, sees translation as a means to expand the 'national' language (Latin) and reduce the originals to mere philological artefact. Valla's aggressive attitude towards translation also helps to open the way to a return to vernacular translation – not as charitable crutch to the illiterate – but as wilful appropriation, substitution and domination.

The return of vernacular translation as a legitimate and laudable undertaking for the erudite also owes much to the rise of vernacular humanism in the second half of the Quattrocento. Key to this revival is the cultural agenda of Lorenzo de' Medici who turned the cult of the Florentine vernacular into a nationalistic (or campinilistic) project involving transcription and translation as well as poetic composition – such as Lorenzo's own *Raccolta aragonese*.<sup>62</sup> The first important vernacularizations



in the Florentine language date from the early 1460s. Marsilio Ficino put Dante's *Monarchia* into Tuscan in this period, reinterpreted to lend theoretical support to the Medici regime. Ficino's own works were rendered into the vernacular in the 1470s.

Simon Gilson has recently told the story of this movement, the links between humanists and mercantile scribes, and a strong renewed interest in Dante. Here, by way of conclusion, I would like to look briefly at one episode of vernacular translation in the 1470s, to mark the difference between the early *volgarizzamento* that has been the subject of this book and the nationalistic projects of vernacularization that came afterwards.

Almost exactly one hundred years after Petrarch sent his last missive to Boccaccio, describing the success of his Latinization of Griselda, Lorenzo de' Medici's teacher, Cristoforo Landino, finished his vernacular translation of Pliny's *Natural History*.<sup>63</sup> Commissioned by the king of Naples, this work was a manifesto of the cultural reach of the Florentine language. The translation claims to be motivated, as were the old *volgarizzamenti* and Dante in his *Convivio*, to bring knowledge to those unlettered in Latin. Cristoforo attributes to the generosity of the king – a non-Florentine – the desire that the Latin Pliny become Tuscan, and from Roman be changed into Florentine, a language that is 'common to all Italy and familiar to many nations beyond'.<sup>64</sup> The translation will be useful not only to the 'majority of men [who] are ignorant of Latin letters', but also to those who are not, because Pliny is obscure to the *dotti* as well as to the *vulgo*.<sup>65</sup> Despite his enthusiasm for the Tuscan language, Landino, unlike Bruni, knows that it cannot say everything because of extreme cultural differences – in customs such as ceremonies, religious rites and games – between the Latins and 'those who have used the language in which I write'. And, against Bruni, he denies that Latin is any different in this regard, because to the Latins it was permitted to use Greek words for things they had no names for, as we see in almost all the disciplines and arts that bear Greek names. We say 'philosophy', not 'study of knowledge', 'music', not 'science of song', 'geometry, arithmetic and astrology' rather than 'reason of measures, of numbers or of stars'.<sup>66</sup> In his introduction to his lecture course on Petrarch's poetry, he made it clear that the Tuscan language would be enriched by importing (what Bruni would have disdained as 'begging') Latin terms:

It is necessary to those who want to have good Tuscan to have Latin . . . Everyone sees that in order to enrich this language, it is necessary every day, without forcing nature, to derive and bring over Latin words into our idiom.<sup>67</sup>

In his proem to Pliny, Landino neither recommends a general return to *volgarizzamenti* as a way to enrich the language nor theorizes much about translation – which he always calls *tradurre* rather than *volgarizzare*. He seems to underscore the difference when he admits that some people might have liked him to have gone outside the words of the writer in many places in order to explain some of Pliny's obscure meaning with words of his own. But that, Landino says, would have made him a commentator rather than a translator. His role is only, through translating, to make Tuscan what Pliny made Latin.<sup>68</sup> Putting this already big book into a form that *even the indotti* could understand would have made it disproportionately huge. The translation does not act as gloss: it intends to be a substitute for the text itself, and it may well leave the *indotti* high and dry.

He imagines his translation giving fame and pleasure reading to the king, so that he might commission more such works.

You therefore, unconquered king, will happily read our long vigils. If I understand you have liked these, I will with every effort and highest zeal set to work to write other things through which your unconquered name worthy of immortality might be preserved in lasting fame.<sup>69</sup>

Yet just a few years later the king commissioned another translation, not from Landino and not of another work, but from his librarian in Naples and of the very same book. It seems the Neapolitan king did not find the Florentine tongue so common as all that.

Not only do we know it was commissioned by the king, but we have documentation that suggests it provoked, and perhaps was meant to provoke, rivalry among Italian rulers for cultural prestige. In 1475, a Ferrarese ambassador to Florence wrote home to Ercole d'Este about Landino's translation and how much it cost, suggesting the duke might want to have a copy of it made by the 'same writer'. There are fifty-three *quinterni* which would cost 8 *lire* apiece for both the paper and the copying. We also learn from this dispatch that the king did not solicit it to satisfy his own reading curiosity, but rather to give to the Duke of Burgundy, who very much liked to read. The reason the king wanted to ingratiate himself with the duke had to do with negotiations of marriage between his son Frederick of Aragon and the duke's daughter, Mary of Burgundy.<sup>70</sup>

So, it is clear that the translation is neither made by nor paid for by a real reader. Landino, who himself certainly has no need of such things, does it on commission, not for a Florentine merchant curious

about Pliny, but to flatter the aristocratic ostentation of rulers to whom the language of the *volgarizzamento* is not even native. Tuscan has become a prestige language, the way French was in previous centuries, in a position to contemplate readership well beyond its borders. But whereas French texts circulated willy-nilly in Italy alongside Italian translations of them, these new colonizing translations are not really about making works accessible to people who want to understand them, nor are they copied out and circulated by people who want such vulgar versions for themselves. They are commissioned as cultural capital for reasons of state.

Giovanni Brancati, the librarian of Naples, writes about the commission to redo Pliny in a letter to the king dated 29 August, either 1474 or 1475, in any case very soon after Landino had completed his version. It seems that Ferrante had asked him merely to intervene on the manuscript, not to write a whole new translation. But Brancati protests that you cannot repair the infidelities of an interpreter without irremediably ruining the codex.<sup>71</sup> The letter is in Latin, thereby ostensibly underscoring the fact that the *volgarizzamento* is not being commissioned by an illiterate sovereign. He suggests making a whole new translation that would be more faithful and in 'our own' everyday speech. Brancati turns it into an opportunity to decry Tuscan hegemony and defend cultural competence in the kingdom. If you want a *volgarizzamento*, should it not be in a language that you do not find difficult both to read and to speak?<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Naples boasts no fewer erudite men capable of making a learned and elegant version.

He accuses the unnamed Landino, against whom he claims to bear no personal rancour, of being a philosophaster and criticizes his *De anima* as having more errors than the old one.<sup>73</sup> Brancati sees *volgarizzamento* as a most thankless task. What could be as inglorious for a Latin man and imitator of Latinity as to write in the vernacular something which will be forgotten, not to mention trampled underfoot, within a very few months? Indeed almost before Landino had even finished, it seems the king was already asking for an improvement. Brancati will translate the whole work anew, rather than castigate 'that man's' translation, even though the work will be almost infinite and the glory, if any, very small.<sup>74</sup> In a competitive challenge with his Tuscan predecessor, he claims that anyone who reads his own version can say he read what Pliny wrote.<sup>75</sup>

Even so, Brancati shares Landino's doubts about full translatability. There are many words in authors that cannot be aptly translated in any way, because the vernacular does not have words to correspond to those

in Latin. Echoing Biondo's side in the debate about the Romans' vernacular, Brancati explains that once upon a time Latin words were pretty much the same for country people as for city people, learned as well as unlearned; but now we see in 'our everyday speech' a difference between plebeian and noble as great as the distance between earth and heaven.<sup>76</sup> He does not deny that translations can be useful, but certainly not to educated people who are aroused to contemplate the past; rather only to the *illiterati*. Yes, translations educate. But whom do they educate? Tailors, seamstresses, barbers and every kind of humble and abject man, with whom the intelligent mind has nothing in common.<sup>77</sup>

In his prior translation of Vegetius, to which he refers here, Brancati had claimed – unlike Landino and more like Bruni – that he had stayed within the confines of the vernacular.<sup>78</sup> This obliges him to perform also the role of commentator, by explaining untranslatable Latin terms in marginal glosses.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, he admits that 'this our language' which he uses will not be pure Neapolitan, but a mixture. This is because he wants the translation to be useful to everyone, but in particular to his co-subjects and most of all to the king himself – not because he is not, like Alexander, familiar with all languages, but because this one is the most pleasing since it is the one he uses all the time. So indeed did that most authoritative of Latin historians, Livy, use the language of his own fatherland, so that he was criticized for sounding Paduan.<sup>80</sup> Scholars have noted that even though a prime motive for Brancati's retranslation is to escape Tuscan, his language is not purely Neapolitan and shows the influence not only of Latin, but also of Tuscan whose hegemony he could not fully resist.

Also in Ferrara *volgarizzamenti* began to be solicited, but not without misgivings of the humanists. Already in 1462, in a dialogue set in Ferrara in the 1440s, Angelo Decembrio has Leonello d'Este complain of the thanklessness of the task of such translations ('the translators will gain as the wages of their labour the accusation of wiser men that they have put good Latin authors into poor *volgare*') and expresses concern about the princes and their people so untrained in literature that they need to commission them:

If works of this kind, and especially histories, are to be done because of the whims of certain Princes, we have no serious objections. But since classical works are being put into the vernacular, I do wonder about the Prince and his people, as both seem to lack training in literature. To be content with translation is like being content with earthenware and coarse cloth rather than pearls and things of great value.<sup>81</sup>

Matteo Maria Boiardo would offer just such princely versions to Leonello's later successor, Ercole d'Este. Edouardo Fumagalli traces how Boiardo's *volgarizzamento* of Herodotus, made from Lorenzo Valla's Latin version, entered into political discourse – from Ludovico il Moro's self-legitimation to the story of Caterina Sforza lifting her skirts. Dennis Looney shows how with his translation Boiardo moves Herodotus into the new mode of chivalric romance.<sup>82</sup> By then, *volgarizzamento* had evidently become so fashionable that Boiardo may have made one up. In his preface to the *Storia imperiale*, supposedly by the fourteenth-century Ferrarese writer, Riccobaldo, Boiardo claims this old history has only recently been unearthed in the library: 'questa anticha hystoria novellamente ritrovata'. Yet this book has since then disappeared. Perhaps Boiardo forgot to return it to the library. Either the translation was so successful it completely supplanted the original (but since there is only one manuscript that hardly seems the case). Or perhaps the Latin original never existed.<sup>83</sup>

Such a pseudotranslation might not be so hard to put past the author of the *Orlando innamorato*, a vernacular poem that reminds us repeatedly, starting with its title, that it is but a version of Turpin's chronicle.

The first book of Orlando in Love, in which are contained the various adventures and reasons for his falling in love, translated from the true Chronicle of Turpin, Archbishop of Reims.<sup>84</sup>

Like his compatriot and continuator Ludovico Ariosto, the poet is most scrupulous about citing his venerable source, of which the poem is but a rewriting, when he wants to make the most outrageous and entertaining inventions. Translation had become not an unfortunate remedy to ignorance, but an elegant literary pretext, if not a witty fiction. In any case, *volgarizzamento* had become something quite different from what it was when it began.

## Notes

### INTRODUCTION

- 1 For Italy's simultaneous belatedness and precocity, see Monfrin, 'Les Traducteurs'; on 'spontaneity' as the salient difference between Italian and French translation in this period, Segre, *Lingua, stile e società*; on the new situation of copyists of books being the same people who wanted to read them, Petrucci, *Writers and Readers*.
- 2 'Oceanic' is a term used by Giuseppe De Luca in his introduction to *Prosatori minori del Trecento* (xi-xl). For the census and its analysis, see Teresa De Robertis' introduction to *I manoscritti della letteratura italiana delle origini*. On the primacy of translation in new literary traditions, see Folena, *Volgarizzare e tradurre*, and Lepschy and Barański, 'Translations'.
- 3 Castellani, 'Le formule'; Segre, introduction to Segre (ed.), *Volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento*. Alberti, *Della famiglia*, 205: 'al mercatante sempre avere le mani tinte d'inchiostro ... sempre scrivere ogni cosa, ogni contratto, ogni entrata e uscita fuori di bottega, e così spesso tutto rivedendo quasi sempre avere la penna in mano'. For vernacular oratory, see Milner, 'Citing the Balcony' and Artifoni, 'Sull'eloquenza politica'. For the intersection of Italians' documentary habits with those of literary transcription, see Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante*. The classic study of the register books of late medieval Italian merchants is Bec, *Les Marchands écrivains*.
- 4 Weinberger, *Outside Stories*, 61: 'Nearly everywhere, the great ages of poetry have been, not coincidentally, periods of intense translation. With no news from abroad, a culture ends up repeating the same things to itself. It needs the foreign not to imitate, but to transform.' Translation as 'circulatory system' is from Sontag, 'The World as India'.
- 5 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *The Politics of Translation in the Middle Ages*. 'The translation into French signals nothing less than the transfer of ancient learning from clergy to court.' Buridant, 'Translatio medievalis', 119. Briggs ('Teaching Philosophy') makes a distinction between 'vulgarization' by which he means an *intralingual* simplification or explication and 'vernacularization' by which he means a transfer between the language of learning and the mother tongue. Lepschy and Barański attribute the claim that all medieval texts are translations to Heck, a scholar of German and Roman law.

- 6 Kelly, 'Translatio Studii', 291. The term 'cultural reclamation' is from Bloch, *The Anonymous Marie de France*, 239.
- 7 Quoted by Lefevere, *Translating Literature*, 65.
- 8 Terracini, 'Il problema della traduzione', 52: 'parlare e tradurre abbiano in comune un momento preliminare: quello di comprendere'.
- 9 Rushdie (*Imaginary Homelands*, 16) refers to himself and other diasporic post-colonial writers as 'translated men'. See Trivedi, 'Translating Culture'. For the appropriation of translation studies in cultural studies and vice versa, see Bassnett and Lefevere, 'The Cultural Turn in Translation Studies'; Bassnett and Lefevere, 'The Translation Turn in Cultural Studies'; Bhabha, 'How Newness Enters the World'; Burke and Hsia, *Cultural Translation*; Bachmann-Medick, 'Translational Turn'.
- 10 Somerset and Watson, preface to Somerset and Watson (eds.), *The Vulgar Tongue*, x: 'the term describes, not a language as such, but a relation between one language situation and another'; and Worley, 'Using the *Ormulum*', 19: 'vernacularity is not a quality but a relationship'. Briggs ('Teaching Philosophy') makes medieval Latin into a kind of vernacular by calling it 'nativized'.
- 11 Pollock, 'Cosmopolitan and Vernacular', 592.
- 12 'Il medioevo, a rigore, non tradusse. Rispetto al latino, volgarizzò, il che è alquanto diverso.' Terracini, 'Il problema della traduzione', 57.
- 13 Wogan-Browne *et al.* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 9–10.
- 14 On schooling in this period, see Black, *Humanism and Education*; Gehl, *A Moral Art*; Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*.
- 15 The definition of *translatio* as 'expositio sententiae per aliam linguam' is from Hugutio of Pisa, *Magnae derivationes*. See Hanna *et al.*, 'Latin Commentary Tradition'.
- 16 Zetzl, *Marginal Scholarship*, 148 and 3.
- 17 White, *Justice as Translation*, 91.
- 18 Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*.
- 19 Pollock, 'Cosmopolitan and Vernacular', 602–4.
- 20 Terracini, *Lingua libera e libertà linguistica*, 225: 'Verso la Francia siamo dinanzi a una copiosa letteratura di volgarizzamento, narrativo o anche di contenuto manifestamente didattico e tecnico, che ha molta analogia – e sovente si confonde – con il volgarizzamento latino . . . Verso la Provenza, l'atteggiamento del volgare è alquanto diverso: ci troviamo qui di fronte alle più sottili, ma in certo senso illimitate possibilità di trasposizione cui dà luogo la traduzione concentrata in una forma di poesia, da poeta a poeta, più che da gente a gente. Qui non v'è luogo per volgarizzamenti.'
- 21 Faiq, 'Medieval Arabic Translation'; Davis, 'National Writing'; Hanna *et al.*, 'Latin Commentary Tradition'.
- 22 Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*, 229 and 506.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 219.
- 24 Barbato, *Il Libro VIII del Plinio*, 6. See Chapter 6, below.
- 25 Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, 3 and 93. Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*.

- 26 The terminology is from Kristal, *Invisible Work*, 32. See also Steiner, *After Babel*, and the discussion of Benjamin's essay, 'The Task of the Translator', in Chapter 5, below.
- 27 Wogan-Browne *et al.*, *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 12.
- 28 Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*; Sontag, 'The World as India'.

## I DRESSING DOWN THE MUSES

- 1 Sacchetti, *Trecentonovelle* 66, pp. 191–3: 'Fu un cittadino già in Firenze, e savio e in istato assai, il cui nome fu Coppo di Borghese, e stava dirimpetto dove stanno al presente i Leoni, il quale faceva murare nelle sue case; e leggendo un sabato dopo nona nel Titolivio, si venne abbattuto a una storia: come le donne romane, essendo stata fatta contra loro ornamenti legge di poco tempo, erano corse al Campidoglio, volendo e adomandando che quella legge si dirogasse. Coppo, come che savio fosse, essendo sdegnoso e in parte bizzarro, cominciò in sé medesimo muoversi ad ira, come il caso in quella dinanzi a lui intervenisse.'
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 192: 'Oimè, Romani, sofferete voi questo, che non avete sofferto che re o imperadore sia maggiore di voi? ... voi mi chiedete danari delle c[a]se che mi acconciate, io vorrei volentieri ch'elle rovinassero testesio, e rovinassono addosso ... pensando che quelle sfacciate, quelle puttane, quelle dolorose abbiano aiuto tanto ardire ch'elle sieno corse al Campidoglio per rivolare gli ornamenti. Che faranno li Romani di questo? Ché Coppo, che è qui, non se ne puote dare pace: e se io potessi, tutte le farei ardere, acciò che sempre chi rimanesse se ne ricordasse.'
- 3 *Ibid.*: 'E' dice non so che di romani, forse da stadera.' *Stadera* is a kind of scale: a steelyard or a weighbridge.
- 4 Maggini, 'Le prime traduzioni di Tito Livio', in *I primi volgarizzamenti*, 69.
- 5 Rossi, 'Scrittori borghesi dell'ultimo Trecento', 883.
- 6 Muscetta, 'I novellieri minori', 503: 'Ma frequentando il cenacolo degli Alberti, fra i nuovi letterati, egli non doveva sentirsi uno dei loro, era piuttosto un superato'.
- 7 Sacchetti, 'Or è mancata ogni poesia', lines 91–3, in *Il libro delle rime*, 259.
- 8 Cellerino, 'Domenichi, Coppo'.
- 9 Boccaccio, *Decameron* 5.9, p. 509: 'uomo di grande e di reverenda autorità ne' di nostri, e per costumi e per virtù molto più che per nobiltà di sangue chiarissimo e degno d'eterna fama, essendo già d'anni pieno, spesse volte delle cose passate co' suoi vicini e con altri si diletta di ragionare: la qual cosa egli meglio e con più ordine e con maggior memoria e ornato parlare che altro uom seppe fare'.
- 10 Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale (hereafter BNF), ms. Banco Rari (B. R.) 50. See Costantini, 'Studi sullo Zibaldone Magliabechiano', 56, and Bruni, 'Between Oral Memory and Written Tradition'.
- 11 Boccaccio, *Esposizioni* 8.68, p. 462: 'secondo che ragionar solea Coppo di Borghese Domenichi'; *ibid.*, 16.16, p. 690: 'secondo che solea il venerabile uomo Coppo di Borghese Domenichi raccontare, al quale per certo furono le notabili cose della nostra città notissime'.



- 12 The first quote is to be found at the end of the text in Gaddiano 18: 'Chonpiuti sono i dodici libri del vergilio li quali frate nastagio delordine di frati minori recho diversi in prosa. E la detta prosa della grammaticha ser andrea di ser lancia traslato in piacevole volghare assai adornatamente a priegho d'alchuno suo amicho' (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (hereafter Laur.)); the second appears in the prologue in two manuscripts in the BNF Magliabechiana collection (Palch. 11.60 and Palch. 11.62): 'Il quale libro atte coppo frate anastasio de lordine de fratj minori huomo discreto e letterato con molta fatica recho di versi in prosa ... Eyo anastasio poi adistanza dite choppo non molto lievemente traslati di gramaticha in lingua volgare.' Both are transcribed by Paul Colomb De Batines, "Andrea Lancia", 21. Giulia Valerio ('La cronologia dei primi volgarizzamenti dell'*Eneide*') thinks that Lancia himself abridged the poem using the near contemporary prose version by Ciampolo degli Ugurgieri. See also Folena's introduction to Angilu da Capua, *La istoria di Eneas vulgarizata per Angilu da Capua*.
- 13 Dante, *Inferno* 28.12. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, 273–8. Billanovich, *La tradizione del testo di Livio*, 55. Marchesi, 'Fra filologia e retorica', 361–74.
- 14 Villani, *Nuova cronica* 1.24, p. 38. See Aquilecchia's introduction to his edition. In addition to Lancia's *Eneide*, Villani used a vernacular version of the *Chronica de origine civitatis* and refers to a 'libro di Salustio detto Catellinario' (1.32, p. 51). All of these texts can be found together in the late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manuscript BNF, Gaddiano 18. Parodi, 'I rifacimenti e le traduzioni italiane dell'*Eneide*', 317. We know that Villani also requested a translation of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* from Zanobi da Strada sometime before 1348, the same Zanobi to whom Boccaccio wrote in 1348 about his affection for Coppo di Borghese, their common 'father', and in 1353 mentioning Coppo's death. Boccaccio, *Opere latine minori*, 128 and 131. Brambilla, 'Zanobi da Strada'. Sacchetti aligns Zanobi, also a crowned poet, together with Petrarch in his elegy for Boccaccio ('Or è mancata ogni poesia', lines 40–1, p. 257): 'Zanobi e 'l Petracca, in quel tesoro / ch'ebbon col verde lauro'.
- 15 Billanovich, *La tradizione del testo di Livio*, 25, 32, and 112. Petrarca, *Le familiari* 18.3: 'Titi Livii romanarum rerum liber ingens, quem in partes quas decades vocant, non ipse qui scripsit sed fastidiosa legentium scidit ignavia.' Cf. Azzetta, 'Tradizione latina e volgarizzamento'.
- 16 Some examples given by Maggini, *I primi volgarizzamenti*, 75: 'con uno habito di faccia' (*habitu oris*) ; 'il salto di Pireneo' (*Pirenaeum saltum*); 'commettere la battaglia' (*proelium committere*); 'nel primo concorso' (*primo concursu*).
- 17 Billanovich ('Il Boccaccio, il Petrarca e le più antiche traduzioni', 318) believed that Boccaccio was also the translator of the third decade, but Tanturli ('Volgarizzamenti e ricostruzione dell'antico') has recently argued that the translator of the fourth decade seems not to have read the third and in his poem makes no mention of a prior translation of any other part of Livy. Cf. Hortis, *Cenni*, 67n.

- 18 On terms for the unlearned, see Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, 27.
- 19 Pizzorno (ed.), *Le decche di T. Livio*, vol. v, pp. 10–11: 'Nè è mio intendimento nella sposizione della predetta Deca seguire strettamente per tutto la lettera dell'Autore: perocchè, ciò facendo, non veggio che io al fine intento potessi venire acconciamente, il quale è di voler fare chiaro a' non intendenti la intenzione di T. Livio.'
- 20 Hugutio of Pisa in his *Magnae derivationes* defines *translatio* as *expositio sententiae*; see Minnis and Scott, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism*, 374; Wogan-Browne *et al.* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 317; and Guthmüller, 'Die volgarizzamenti', 201–54, 224–6.
- 21 Pizzorno (ed.), *Le decche di T. Livio*, vol. v, p. 11: 'Perciocchè non in luogo uno, ma in molti esso sì precisamente scrive, che se sole le sue parole, senza più, si ponessono, si rimarebbe tronco il volgare a coloro, dico, i quali non sono di troppo sottile avvedimento, che così poco ne intenderebbero volgarizzato, come per lettera. Adunque acciocchè interissimamente ogni sua intenzione eziandio da' più materiali si comprenda, non partendomi dalla sua propria intenzione, estimo che utile sia in alcun luogo con più parole alquanto le sue adampiare.'
- 22 Black (*Humanism and Education*) has refuted claims that there was any sort of vernacular textbook for early education in this period. But see Gehl, *A Moral Art*; Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*; and Bäuml, 'Varieties and Consequences', 256.
- 23 Giamboni, *Fiore di rettorica*, 5: 'Ma, acciò che di questa via possano i laici alcuna cosa sentire, mi penerò di darne in volgare alcuna dottrina, avegna che malagevolmente si possa fare, perché la materia è molto sottile, e le sottili cose non si possono bene aprire in volgare, sì che se n'abbia pieno intendimento'; and 156: 'Ma, perciò che di questa via possano i laici alcuna cosa vedere (quelli che non sono letterati), mi penerò de darne alcuno amaestramento, avegna che malagevolmente si possa ben fare, perché la materia è molto sottile a me non ben saputo, e le sottili cose non si possono bene aprire, sì che se n'abbia bene fermo intendimento, a' non litterati, se 'l disponente nonn-è savio.' Traditionally this *volgarizzamento* was thought to be by a certain fra Guidotto da Bologna who names himself in the prologue to one version, but now Speroni has argued that Guidotto's text derives from the version made by Giamboni.
- 24 Giamboni, *Fiore di rettorica*, 5: 'Però, colui che legge in questo libro, legga prima e rilegga molte volte, sì che da ssé medesimo ogni cosa intenda; e se dubitasse d'alcuna cosa e non la 'ntendesse, non si tema di ricorrere ai' savi, perché domandare spesse volte delle cose dubbiose è una delle cinque chiavi della sapienza, per la quale puote l'uomo savio divenire'; *ibid.*, 156: 'E però, quelli che legge in questo libretto, se d'alcuna cosa dubitasse, legga in prima e rilegga molte volte, sì che da sé medesimo la 'ntenda, ch'io le pur dirò sì che intendere le potrà; e se alcuna volta dubitasse de cosa che non intendesse, sì ricorra a' savi, però che 'l ne faranno inteso; perché il domandare ...'

- 25 Dante, *Convivio* 1.9.4–5: ‘Dico che manifestamente si può vedere come lo latino avrebbe a pochi dato lo suo beneficio, ma lo volgare servirà veramente a molti. Ché la bontà de l’animo, la quale questo servigio attende, è in coloro che per malvagia disusanza del mondo hanno lasciata la litteratura a coloro che l’hanno fatta di donna meretrice; e questi nobili sono principi, baroni, cavalieri e molt’altra nobile gente, non solamente maschi ma femmine, che sono molti e molte in questa lingua, volgari, e non litterati.’
- 26 *Ibid.*, 1.5.12 and 4.21.6. There is some disagreement whether Dante means it cannot be explained in human language in general or the vernacular in particular. I tend to favour the latter interpretation, especially in the context of the *Convivio*’s own preoccupation with the two different languages. Cf. Barański, ‘I trionfi del volgare: Dante e il plurilinguismo’, in Barański, *Sole nuovo, luce nuova*, 41–77.
- 27 Giamboni, *Fiore di rettorica*, 150: ‘Et io frate Guidotto da Bologna, cercando le sue magne vertudi, emmi mosso talento di volere alquanti membri del *Fiore di rettorica* volgarizzare di latino in nostra loquenzia, sìcome appartiene al mestiere de’ ladici, volgarmente.’
- 28 Dante, *Convivio* 1.5.12, 1.9.3, 4.21.6. Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum*, 304: ‘Videntes enim Philosophi nullum idioma vulgare esse completum et perfectum, per quod perfecte exprimere possent naturas rerum, et mores hominum, et cursus astrorum, et alia de quibus disputare volebant, invenerunt sibi quasi proprium idioma, quod dicitur latinum, vel idioma literale: quod constituerunt adeò latum et coposum, ut per ipsum possent omnes suos conceptus sufficienter exprimere.’
- 29 In the vernacular version it would seem rather that the fault might be in the philosophers’ inability to use languages other than Latin, rather than a defect inherent in the vernacular itself: ‘Perciò che i filosofi non potendo isprimere, ciò ch’elli voleano dire, nelli altri linguaggi, sì trovaro il linguaggio latino, acciò ched ellino sprimessero e fussero intese della natura delle cose, e de’ costumi e della strolomia e di ciascuna cosa dund’elli parlassero.’ Aegidius, *Del reggimento de’ principi*, 165.
- 30 Pizzorno (ed.), *Le decche di T. Livio*, vol. v, pp. 3–4: ‘Adunque da uno e così fatto principio, senza alcuna divisione di opera e di nome, fu nel suo cominciamento l’umana natura, così gentile e così libero producendo l’uno come l’altro: ma il naturale ingegno, e l’arte la natura imitante, e l’opere virtuose con la dimostrativa scienza poi venuta, meritamente in due divisero l’unica progenie del protoplasto, e gli industriosi e attivi, dagli altri degnamente ammirati, trassono ad alto ad essi degli altri il residuo.’
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 4: ‘Avvegnachè poi, il mondo in quantità d’uomini molto maggiore aumentandosi, non essendo possibile che tutti principi fossero i valorosi, restando alli preeminenti i luoghi divisi, il titolo, e l’onore della signoria, essendo con gli altri insieme a quella sudditi, *nobili* si chiamarono, a distinzione degli altri minori, a’ quali per nome rimase *plebei*, ovvero *ignobili*.’
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 6: ‘Sola fortuna e forza oggi fa grandi e nobili chi le piace’; and 8: ‘Così questi costumi utilissimi e santi e ragionevoli col mondo invecchiarono

- e corrupperi: e in luogo di quelli, l'usato nome di nobiltà ritenendo, lussuria, avarizia, rapina e oziosità son venute.'
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 8: 'Però che colui è oggi nobile riputato, il quale e con rapina e con guadagni illeciti avendo raunata d'oro grandissima copia, può ampiamente di delicati cibi, e di nobili vini saziare l'appetito, e il corpo nato alle fatiche negli alti palagi e ne' delicati letti lussuriando posare.'
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 9: 'E così con questi vizj, e con altri più molti, hanno così l'abito virtuoso, come le virtù medesime tolto via. Ma sopra tutte l'altre cose e discacciano e avviliscono i santi studi della filosofia, e ciascun altro più minimo, per li quali gli uomini da' bruti animali si discernono.'
- 35 *Ibid.*: 'Laonde quello studio, che prima de' nobilissimi fu, è convenuto a' montanari e guardatori delle pecore ed a' poveri gentili uomini pervenire: e di questi oggi le scuole si trovano piene.'
- 36 *Ibid.*: 'Laonde seguita, che i maggiori levati dagli alti conviti col capo pieno o dalle loro lussurie convolto, o tornati da perdere il tempo dietro agli uccelli, avendo a determinare l'alte cose, per forza a questi cotali ricorrono per consiglio.'
- 37 *Ibid.*: 'e così essendo il mondo rivolto, coloro che regnare debitamente dovrieno, conviene che si reggano per lo consiglio di coloro che dovriano essere retti'.
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10: 'E conciossiacosachè io medesimo sia di questi cotali estremi, a' quali di necessità è lo studio pervenuto alle mani, volendo alcuna cosa con lunga fatica fare di utilità al mondo corrotto, e specialmente a' presidenti; considerato, che, secondo che Aristotele vuole nel primo della retorica sua, il sapere le antiche storie è utilissimo nelle cose civili; ho proposto di ridurre in latino volgare x libri di Tito Livio Patavino.' I have put back the original reading of the manuscript Pizzorno corrected into *di ridurre di latino in volgare* which Tanturli notes is a banalization of what is instead a legitimate expression ('to bring into vulgar Latin') used by Boccaccio himself in the *Teseida*.
- 39 Sacchetti, *Trecentonovelle* 66, p. 193.
- 40 On Italian sumptuary law, see Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy*; Owen Hughes, 'Le mode femminili e il loro controllo'; and Owen Hughes, 'La moda proibita'.
- 41 Guimbard, 'Appunti sulla legislazione suntuaria', 65.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 65; and Guimbard, 'Francesco da Barberino e la scelta del volgare', 18.
- 43 Marzi, *La cancelleria della repubblica fiorentina*, 572: 'ut ipsi artifices et layci possint per se ipsos legere et intelligere ipsa Statuta et Ordinamenta, providerunt et ordinaverunt quod Statuta dicti Comunis vulgaricaretur [*sic*] et vulgaricata teneantur per dictum Comune in aliquo loco publico, ubi quilibet possit ea legere et intellectum ex eis leviter capere'.
- 44 *Ibid.*: 'fieri per Officiales constitutos ad refrenandum immoderatas expensas civium, tam super ornamenta [*sic*] mulierum, quam alia, adduntur ipsis Statutis, et declarantur ipsa Statuta, et nova statuuntur, que necessario ipsis vulgaricatis addenda sunt, et erunt, in eodem vulgari'. On Lancia's translation

- of the statutes, see Azzetta, 'Notizia intorno a Andrea Lancia traduttore'; Azzetta, 'Per la biografia', 164; and Bambi, "Ser Andreas Lance".
- 45 The tale is discussed by Owen Hughes, 'La moda proibita', and by Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy*, 122–3. See also Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*.
- 46 Fanfani, 'Legge suntuaria', 372: 'Neuna donna, o femina o fanciulla, osi di portare nella cittade di Firenze, in casa o fuori di casa, alcuna abottonatura o bottoni, ismaltata o ismaltati, ad alcuno vestimento, o in su alcuno de' quali sia alcuno ismalto o di perle o di pietra pretiosa o di nacchere: e nulla abottonatura di vestimento d'alcuna delle predette donne, femina o fanciulla, possa passare il gomito delle maniche: et neuni bottoni si possano portare in su alcuno loro vestimento dove non sieno occhielli per afibiare quelli bottoni.'
- 47 Sacchetti, *Trecentonovelle* 137, p. 418: "Voi portate gli ermellini"; e la vuole scrivere; la donna dice: "Non scrivete, no, ché questi non sono ermellini, anzi sono lattizzi."
- 48 *Ibid.*, pp. 418–19: 'E questo fu detto in tal ora e in tal punto che quasi d'allora in qua nessuno ufficiale quasi ha fatto officio o datosene fatica; lasciando correre le ghirlande per becchetti, e le coppelle e i lattizzi e cinciaglioni.'
- 49 Fanfani, 'Legge suntuaria', 373: 'Salvochè le donne et le fanciulle, per adornamento di suo capo, possa portare ciascuna di loro senza pena una ghirlanda o cerchiello; ma che non sia a modo di corona fatta o ritratta.'
- 50 Bartolo da Sassoferrato, *In secundam digesti novi partem, ad Dig.* 45, 1, 1, 6, n. 4, f 3v, cited by Bambi, "Ser Andreas Lance", 346.
- 51 Compagni, 'La canzone del Pregio', lines 105–17: 'Se bruon pregio vole aver notaro, / in leal fama procacci sé vivere, / e in chiaro rogare e 'n bello scrivere, / e d'imbreviar sue scritte non si' avaro; / in gramatica pugnì assai, sia conto, / e 'n porre accezion buon contrattista, / e diletti d'usar fra buon legista, / en domandare accorto savio e pronto; / saver dittare / e buon volgare, / legger, volgarizzar grande i dan pregio / e di maturità ver brivilegio / e contra 'l dritto non scritte mutare'.
- 52 Latini, *Tresor* 3.87, p. 826: 'Lors doit il comander a son notaire que il mete diligenment en escrit les diz des parleors, et non mie tout ce que il dient, mes ce sanz plus qui touche au point dou conseil'; 3.95, pp. 836–8: 'mes sor toz doit il aimer et honorer les juges et les notaires de son ostel, car il ont en lor mains la greingnor partie de son honor'.
- 53 Foote, 'How the Past Becomes a Rumor'.
- 54 Dante, *Vita nova* 16.6, p. 150: 'si mosse però che volle fare intendere le sue parole a donna la quale era malagevole d'intendere li versi latini'.
- 55 Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (hereafter Vatican), ms. Vat. lat. 3793.
- 56 The manuscript (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Sala Prefetto, 13 bis) is Florentine, from the beginning of the fifteenth century. See Zaggia and Ceriana, *I manoscritti illustrati delle 'Eroidi'*, 8.
- 57 Dante, *Vita nova* 10.15, p. 93: 'Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore'. See Ahern, 'The New Life of the Book', 4–6; Cornish, 'A Lady Asks'; and Wogan-Browne *et al.*, *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 121.

- 58 Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare*, 80. Giordano da Pisa, *Prediche sulla Genesi*, vol. II, p. 310. Cf. Mertens, 'Ghostwriting Sisters.'
- 59 Giovanni da Salerno (trans.), *Gli Evangelii del B. Simone da Cascia*, pp. 2–5: 'Vedendo alcune persone figliuole in Cristo del mio padre frate Simone da Cascia ... affamate e desiderose di leggere e avere continuamente alcune parole del vangelo secondo ch'egli le predicò e lassò a me iscritte per lettera, fui costretto a [...] volgarizzare alcune esposizioni. ... Sono alcune persone, a le quali forse non pare ben fatto ch'io abbia fatto questo, e specialmente a petizione di femine [...] Ma queste cotali persone non pare che sappiano ovvero non pensano che in alcune contrade è volgarizzata tutta la Bibbia e molti libri di santi e di dottori. E santo Geronimo molte scritture traslatò da una lingua a un'altra per consolazione d'alcune sue figliuole.' Cf. Leonardi, 'A volerla bene volgarizzare' and Gill, 'Women and the Production of Religious Literature in the Vernacular'.
- 60 Boccaccio, *Decameron*, 'Conclusione dell'autore', 963: 'per ciò che né a Atene né a Bologna o a Parigi alcuna di voi non va a studiare'.
- 61 Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy*, 7, 112; Owen Hughes, 'Sumptuary Law and Social Relations' and Owen Hughes, 'Regulating Women's Fashion'.
- 62 Vecellio, *Degli habitì antichi et moderni*, cited by Owen Hughes, 'La moda proibita', 96.
- 63 Dante, *Paradiso* 16.33: 'non con questa moderna favella'; *Purgatorio* 26.112–14: 'Li dolci detti vostri, / che, quanto durerà l'uso moderno, / faranno cari ancora i loro incostri'. See Chapter 5 below. Killerby (*Sumptuary Law in Italy*, 111) engages the comparison of fashion, if not with language, then with a 'potent sign system ... not lost on legislators'.
- 64 Muzzarelli, 'Una società nello specchio della legislazione suntuaria', 18: 'A Bologna l'ultimo provvedimento in latino è del 1453; e il primo in volgare è 1474. A Reggio fino agli anni Quaranta del XVI secolo sono in volgare e nel 1550 una di esse esordisce in latino per poi svilupparsi in volgare.'
- 65 Fanfani, 'Legge suntuaria', 370: 'a ripriemere et regolare le soperchie spese de' cittadini dintorno alii vestimenti et adornamenti delle donne, fanciulle et femine, et moglazzi'.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 373: 'Ma dalle cose che si contengono in questo presente capitolo, et da ciascuna d'esse, sieno senza pena et exceptate le moglie de' cavalieri.'
- 67 Sacchetti, *Trecentonovelle* 137, p. 418: 'Io vo' che voi sappiate ch'è Romani non potero contro le loro donne, che vinsono tutto il mondo; ed elle per levar gli ordini sopra gli ornamenti loro corsono al Campidoglio e vinsono e' Romani, avendo quello che voleano; per tal segnale che Coppo del Borghese, in una novella di questo libro, leggendo i[n] Tito Livio la detta istoria, ne fu per impazzare.'
- 68 Pizzorno (ed.), *Le decche di T. Livio*, vol. v, pp. 10–11.
- 69 Sacchetti, *Sposizioni*, 206 and 265: 'La Retorica è il bel parlare. E qual è più bello che 'l parlare evangelico, e gli essempli e le ragioni e le figure sue? ... O Retorica, che col bel dire colorato inducevi gli animi a ciò che volevi, tu hai perduto il tuo fonte. Chi più retorico di Cristo?'

- 70 See Artifoni, 'Sull'eloquenza politica', for medieval attestations of the loquacity peculiar to Italians. On the urban space of harangue, see Milner, 'Citing the Balcony'.
- 71 Giamboni, *Fiore di rettorica*, 5: 'o per usanza di molto dire, o per seguitare nel suo dire alcuno bello dicitore – apparano gl'uomini laici a parlare, e non per lo terzo, ciò per sapere la dottrina che 'n sul favellare è data da' savi, perché nolla sanno né possono sapere, perch'è data per lettera da loro'.
- 72 Boncompagni da Signa, *Rhetorica novissima*, XIII, p. 297a: 'Verum quia contionandi officium rarissime ad viros pertinet litteratos, idcirco hec plebeia doctrina est laicis Italiae reliquenda, qui ad narrandum magnalia contionum a sola consuetudine sunt instructi.' Artifoni, 'Sull'eloquenza politica', 62.
- 73 Artifoni, 'Sull'eloquenza politica', 61: 'Quod male observant plebeii huius civitatis, nam quando ipsi arengant volant per aera . . . Quando plebeii volunt facere sua statuta, non plus vocarent prudentes quam tot asinos, et ideo ipsi faciunt talia statuta que nec habent latinum nec sententiam.'
- 74 D'Agostino, 'Itinerari e forme della prosa', 576.
- 75 Latini, *Tresor* I.I, p. 4: 'est la science de bien parler et de gouverner genz plus noble de nulle art dou monde'.
- 76 Latini, *La rettorica*, 41: 'Adonque la scienza del covernamento delle cittadi è cosa generale sotto la quale si comprende rettorica, cioè l'arte del bene parlare.'
- 77 Villani, *Nuova cronica* 9.10, p. 28: 'fue cominciatore e maestro in digrossare i Fiorentini, e farli scorti in bene parlare, e in sapere guidare e reggere la nostra repubblica secondo la Politica'.
- 78 Minnis, *Magister amoris*, 161–3.
- 79 Sacchetti, *Trecentonovelle*, p. 3; Picone, 'Gli epigoni di Boccaccio'; Dante, *Purgatorio* II.91–3: 'Oh vana gloria de l'umane posse! / com' poco verde in su la cima dura, / se non è giunta da l'etati grosse!'
- 80 Lippi Bigazzi (ed.), *I volgarizzamenti trecenteschi dell' Ars Amandi*, 10.
- 81 Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*, 506.
- 82 *Il novellino*, 3: 'Questo libro tratta d'alquanti fiori di parlare, di belle cortesie e di be' risposi e di belle valentie e doni, secondo che per lo tempo passato ànno fatti molti valenti uomini.'
- 83 *Ibid.*, 131–2: 'Fue un filosofo, lo quale era molto cortese di volgarizzare la scienza per cortesia a' signori e altre genti. Una notte li venne in visione che le dee de[l]la scienza, a guisa di belle donne, stavano al bordello. Ed elli vedendo questo, si maravigliò molto e disse: – Che è questo? Non siete voi le dee de[l]la scienza? – Ed elle rispuosero: – Certo sí. – Com'è ciò, voi siete al bordello? – Ed elle rispuosero: – Ben è vero, perché tu sè quelli che vi ci fai stare. Isvegliò[s]i, e pensossi che volgarizare la scienza si era menomare la deidade. Rimasesene, e pentésì fortemente. E sappiate che tutte le cose non sono licite a ogni persona.'
- 84 Macrobius, *Commentarium in Somnium Scipionis* I.2.19: 'quod Eleusinia sacra interpretando vulgaverit'. See Crespo, 'Da Macrobio al Novellino', and Dronke, *Fabula*, 53.

- 85 *Il novellino*, 1: 'E chi avrà cuore nobile e intelligenza sottile sì l[i] potrà simigliare per lo tempo che verrà per innanzi, e argomentare e dire e raccontare in quelle parti dove avranno luogo, a prode e a piacere di coloro che non sanno e disiderano di sapere.'
- 86 Papanti, *Dante, secondo la tradizione e i novellatori*, 48 (mss. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana (hereafter, Riccard.) 1011, and BNF. Conv. Soppr. Cl. 1588).
- 87 Papanti, *Dante, secondo la tradizione e i novellatori*, 47.
- 88 Giovanni del Virgilio, 'Egloge', 1.6–14, in Dante Alighieri, *Egloge*: 'tanta quid heu semper iactabis seria vulgo, / et nos pallentes nichil ex te vate legemus? / Ante quidem cythara pandum delphyna movebis, / Davus et ambigue Sphynchos problemata solvet, / Tartareum preceps quam gens ydiota figuret / et secreta poli vix experata Platoni: / que tamen in triviis nunquam digesta coaxat / comicomus nebulo, qui Flaccum pelleret orbe'.
- 89 *Ibid.*, 2.52–54: 'Comica nonne vides ipsum reprehendere verba, / tum quia femineo resonant ut trita labello'.
- 90 Boccaccio, *Corbaccio*, 459: 'A questa lettera seguitò per risposta una sua piccola letteretta, nella quale, quantunque ella con aperte parole niuna cosa al mio amore rispondesse, pure con parole assai zoticamente composte e che rimate pareano, e non erano rimate sì come quelle che l'un piè avevano lunghissimo e l'altro corto, mostrava di disiderare di sapere chi io fossi.'
- 91 *Ibid.*, 465: 'le corone, le cinture, i drappi ad oro, i vai, i molti vestimenti e gli altri ornamenti varii, de' quali tutto dì si vagon splendenti'.
- 92 *Ibid.*, 485: 'Dico che questi sono gli ornati e laudevoli costumi e il gran senno e la maravigliosa eloquenza che di costei il tuo amico, male consapevole del fatto, ti ragionava . . . questo era il grande studio e la sollecitudine continua, la quale ella avea alle cose oneste.'
- 93 *Ibid.*, 459: 'E dirotti più: ch'ella in quella s'ingegnò di mostrare d'avere alcun sentimento d'una opinione filosofica, quantunque falsa sia, cioè che una anima d'uno uomo in uno altro trapassi: il che alle prediche, non in libro né in scuola, son certo ch'aprese.'
- 94 Boccaccio, *Decameron* 6.10, p. 566: 'Era questo frate Cipolla . . . niuna scienza avendo, sì ottimo parlatore e pronto era, che chi conosciuto non l'avesse, non solamente un gran rettorico l'avrebbe estimado, ma avrebbe detto esser Tulio medesimo o forse Quintiliano.'
- 95 *Ibid.*: 'tutti i buoni uomini e le femine delle ville'; 'Signori e donne'; p. 570: 'gli uomini e le femine semplici'; 'l'un vicino all'altro e l'una comare all'altra'.
- 96 *Ibid.*, p. 572: 'E per ciò che io liberamente gli feci copia delle piagge di Monte Morello in volgare e d'alquanti capitoli del Caprezio, li quali egli lungamente era andati cercando . . .'
- 97 Allaire, 'The Written Eloquence of Frate Cipolla'. Delcorno ('Predicazione volgare e volgarizzamenti') calls attention also to the scornful mention of *volgarizzamenti* in *Decameron* 7.1, pp. 587–8: 'il paternostro in volgare e la canzone di santo Alesso e il lamento di san Bernardo e la lauda di donna Matelda e cotali altri ciancioni'.



- 98 Cachey, 'Between Petrarch and Dante'. Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, 21–53.
- 99 Boccaccio, *Trattatello*, 439: 'E scriverò in istilo assai umile e leggiro però che più alto nol mi presta lo 'ngegno, e nel nostro fiorentino idioma, acciò che da quello, che egli usò nella maggior parte delle sue opere, non discordi.' See Ricci, 'Le tre redazioni del *Trattatello*'.
- 100 Boccaccio, *Trattatello*, 486: 'per fare utilità più comune a' suoi cittadini e agli altri Italiani: conoscendo che, se metricamente in latino, come gli altri poeti passati, avesse scritto, solamente a' letterati avrebbe fatto utile; scrivendo in volgare fece opera mai più non fatta, e non tolse il non potere essere inteso da' letterati, e mostrando la bellezza del nostro idioma e la sua eccellente arte in quello, e diletto e intendimento di sé diede agl'idioti, abandonati per addietro da ciascheduno'.
- 101 *Ibid.*, 529: 'senza tór via lo esercitare degl'ingegni de' letterati, egli a' non letterati diede alcuna cagion di studiare'.
- 102 Baldan, 'Pentimento ed espiazione di un pubblico lettore', 33.
- 103 Billanovich ('La leggenda dantesca del Boccaccio') shows the dependence of the prologue to the fourth decade on the lament for the decline of letters among the nobles in Dante's *Convivio*.
- 104 Petrarca, *Familiari* 10.4. Marcozzi, *La biblioteca di Febo*, 26–7. See also Tanturli, 'Il Petrarca e Firenze'.
- 105 Boccaccio, *Esposizioni*, Accessus, par. 19, p. 5: 'quantunque in volgare scritto sia, nel quale pare che comunichino le feminette, egli è nondimeno ornato e leggiadro e sublime, delle quali cose nulla sente il volgare delle femine. Non dico però che, se in versi latini fosse non mutato il peso delle parole volgari, ch'egli non fosse più artificioso e più sublime molto, per ciò che molto più d'arte e di gravità ha nel parlare latino che nel materno.'
- 106 Boccaccio, *Rime* 122, p. 95, lines 1–8.
- 107 *Ibid.*, 123, pp. 95–6, lines 1–14.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 125, p. 96, lines 1–14.
- 109 Boccaccio, *Trattatello*, 511.
- 110 Boccaccio, *Corbaccio*, 475: 'il quale i sacri studii, la filosofia ha dalla meccanica turba separato'.
- 111 *Ibid.*, 487–8: 'Alcuni sono chiamati savi, per ciò che ottimamente la scrittura di Dio intendono e sannola altrui mostrare; altri per ciò che intorno alle questioni civili et ecclesiastiche, sì come molto in legge e in decretali amaestrati, sanno ottimamente consigli donare; altri per ciò che nel governo della repubblica sono pratici e le cose nocive sanno schifare e seguire l'utili, quando il bisogno viene; et alcuni sono savi tenuti però che sanno bene guidare i loro fondachi, le loro mercatanzie e arti e' loro fatti di casa.'
- 112 *Ibid.*, 463: 'Tu . . . mai alcuna manuale arte non imparasti e sempre l'essere mercatante avesti in odio; di che più volte ti se' con altrui e teco medesimo gloriato, avendo riguardo al tuo ingegno, poco atto a quelle cose nelle quali assai invecchiano d'anni, e di senno ciascuno giorno diventano più giovani.'

- 113 Dionisotti, 'Tradizione classica e volgarizzamenti', 144: 'Tale per sommi capi il quadro entro cui si pone e probabilmente si spiega la tradizione manoscritta anonima e via via decrescente dei volgarizzamenti di Valerio e di Livio che oggi riconosciamo opera del Boccaccio.'
- 114 Parodi, *Lingua e letteratura*, 476. Pernicone, 'Il *Filostrato*', 93–106. Quaglio, 'Valerio Massimo e il *Filocolo*'. Casella, *Tra Boccaccio e Petrarca*. Perugi, 'Chiose gallo-romanze alle *Eroidi*'. Gozzi, 'Sulle fonti del *Filostrato*', esp. 204–5. See also Gozzi's introduction to her edition of Binduccio dello Scelto, *La storia di Troia*, 40–3.
- 115 Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia*, 141 Marchesi ('Fra filologia e retorica') has also pointed to the vernacularization of *Ab urbe condita* as evidence of intellectual distance between Petrarch and Boccaccio.
- 116 Petrarca, *Familiari* 21.15: 'quid in hoc nostro inter ydiotas in tabernis et in foro . . . . Nunc quod unum restat, queror et stomachor illius egregiam stili frontem inertibus horum linguis conspui fedarique; ubi unum, quod locus exigit, non silebo, fuisse michi non ultimam causam hanc stili eius deserendi, cui adolescens incubueram.' See the recent discussion in Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, 32.
- 117 Sacchetti, *Trecentonovelle* 115, p. 349: 'il quale asinaio andava drieto agli asini, cantando il libro di Dante, e quando avea cantato un pezzo, toccava l'asino, e diceva: "Arri". Scontrandosi Dante in costui, con la bracciaiuola li diede una grande batachia su le spalle, dicendo: "Cotesto arri non vi miss'io"; *ibid.*, 114, pp. 345–6: 'Quando ebbe desinato, esce di casa e aviasi per andare a fare la faccenda; e passando per porta San Piero, battendo ferro uno fabbro su la 'ncudine, cantava il Dante come si canta uno cantare e tramestava i versi suoi, smozzicando e appiccando, che pareva a Dante ricever di quello grandissima ingiuria. Non dice altro, se non che s'accosta alla bottega del fabbro, là dove avea di molti ferri con che facea l'arte: piglia Dante il martello e gettalo per la via, piglia le tanaglie e getta per la via, piglia le bilance e getta per la via, e così gittò molti ferramenti.'
- 118 Battaglia's *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, 653, gives a definition of *cantare* that cites Sacchetti's tale as an example: 'Poemetto (di intonazione popolare) di materia epica e cavalleresca (derivata da leggende medievali, da motivi classici, dai cicli carolingi e bretoni), composto in Italia nei secoli xiv e xv.' The *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*, 605, adds the detail that such poems were destined for public performance and that they were, generally, a form of adaptation or versification – in other words, *volgarizzamenti*: 'Poema di materia epico-cavalleresca, di cui si hanno in Italia numerosi esempî composti nei sec. 14° e 15° da verseggiatori popolari e destinati a essere recitati nelle piazze dai cantastorie: erano in genere versificazioni o rimaneggiamenti, più o meno grossolani, di romanzi, leggende medievali o anche classiche, e spec. della materia epico-cavalleresca.' For an overview of the genre, see De Robertis, 'Introduzione', in Benucci *et al.* (eds.), *Cantari novellistici*, ix–xxxviii; and De Robertis, 'Cantari antichi'.

- 119 Nicholas Havelly ('Muses and Blacksmiths', 77–8) sets Sacchetti's story of the blacksmith in relation to popular oral performance.
- 120 Usher ('Boccaccio on Readers and Reading') notes the implicit reference to Francesca in this passage about the widow's reading. See also Smarr, *Boccaccio and Fiammetta*, 160.
- 121 Boccaccio, *Corbaccio*, 499: 'le sue orazioni e paternostri sono i romanzi franceschi e le canzoni latine, e' quali ella legge di Lancelotto e di Ginevra e di Tristano e d'Isotta e le loro prodeze e i loro amori e le giostre e i torneamenti e le semblee. Ella tutta si stritola quando legge Lancelotto o Tristano o alcuno altro colle loro donne nelle camere, segretamente e soli, raunarsi, sì come colei alla quale pare vedere ciò che fanno e che volentieri, come di loro imagina, così farebbe; avvenga che ella faccia sì che di ciò corta voglia sostiene.'
- 122 See Heijkant (ed.), *Tristano Riccardiano*, and Allaire (ed.), *Tristano Panciatichiano*.
- 123 Boccaccio, *Corbaccio* 499: 'Legge la Canzone dello indovinello e quella di Florio e di Biancifiore e simili cose assai.' The texts referred to by these two titles can now be read in Benucci *et al.* (eds.), *Cantari novellistici*. Cf. Vittore Branca, *Il cantare trecentesco*. Roberta Morosini ('Per difetto rintegrare', 21–4) emphasizes that the audience of the *Filocolo* are those who 'do not know'.
- 124 On misogyny, see Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny*.

## 2 THE AUTHORSHIP OF READERS

- 1 Dante, *Purgatorio* 26.117; Havelly, 'Muses and Blacksmiths', 77–8.
- 2 Foligno, 'Epistole inedite di Lovato de' Lovati', 49: 'Fontibus irriguam spatibuar forte per urbem / quae tribus a vicis nomen tenet, ocia passu / castigans modico, cum celsa in sede theatri / Karoleas acies et Gallica gesta boantem / cantorem aspicio. Pendet plebecula circum / auribus arrectis; illam suus allicit Orpheus. / Ausculto tacitus: Francorum dedita linguae / carmina barbarico passim deformat hiatu, / tramite nulla, suo nulli innitentia penso / ad libitum volvans. Vulgo tamen illa placebat.'
- 3 De Robertis, 'Introduzione', in Benucci *et al.* (eds.), xiv.
- 4 Horace, *Ars poetica* 133–4. Kelly, *The Conspiracy of Allusion*, 96. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, 168–78. Morse, *Truth and Convention*.
- 5 Bruni, 'La prosa volgare', 338.
- 6 Bonaventure, prologue to commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. See Minnis, *Medieval Theory*, 229; and Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*.
- 7 Petrarch, letter to Boccaccio, *Seniles* 2.1, ed. Rizzo; Monti, 'Redazioni anteriori'; Fera, *Antichi editori*; Marcozzi, *La biblioteca di Febo*, 76–7.
- 8 Petrarca, *Familiari* 18.3: 'Titi Livii romanarum rerum liber ingens, quem in partes quas decades vocant, non ipse qui scripsit sed fastidiosa legentium scidit ignavia.'

- 9 Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 212; Maas, *Critica del testo*, 61–2; Fiesoli, *La genesi del lachmannismo*.
- 10 Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante*, 18.
- 11 Bédier, 'La Tradition manuscrite', 321–56. See also Gaunt and Kay, *The Troubadours*, 236.
- 12 Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, 65–75.
- 13 Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante*, 62; Millet, 'Mouvance and the Medieval Author'; Pearsall, 'Editing Medieval Texts', 92–106.
- 14 Triaud, 'Une version tardive'.
- 15 Huot, *The Romance of the Rose*, 4; Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*; Hult, 'Reading It Right', 86; Minnis, *Magister amoris*; Speer, 'Textual Criticism Redivivus'; Kennedy, 'The Scribe as Editor'; Rosenstein, 'Mouvance and the Editor as Scribe'.
- 16 Alfie, 'One Year', 30.
- 17 Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante*, 6–7.
- 18 Cherchi, 'Filologie del 2000'; Avalor, 'Un'idea di filologia romanza'; Segre and Speroni, 'Filologia testuale'; Segre, Review of *The Future of the Middle Ages*.
- 19 Patterson, 'The Logic of Textual Criticism', 97.
- 20 Pasquali's review of Maas, now in Pasquali, *Scritti filologici*, vol. II, 867–914, out of which came his book: *Storia della tradizione*.
- 21 Barbi, *La nuova filologia*.
- 22 Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*; Greetham, 'Textual and Literary Theory'.
- 23 D'Agostino, 'La prosa delle Origini', 9; D'Agostino (ed.), *Fiori e vita di filosafi*; Segre, 'Libro dei Vizi e delle Virtudi', 307.
- 24 D'Agostino (ed.), *Fiori e vita di filosafi*. De Robertis, 'Censimento'; see now his edition of Dante's *Rime*.
- 25 Baldelli, 'La letteratura dell'Italia mediana', 62.
- 26 On the compendium of the *Ethics* and Taddeo Alderotti's translation of it, see Gentili, *L'uomo aristotelico*.
- 27 Quaglio, 'Retorica, prosa'; G. Bruni, 'Il *De regimine principum*'.
- 28 D'Agostino, 'Itinerari e forme della prosa', 580–1.
- 29 Mascheroni, 'I codici'; Mussafia, 'Sul testo del *Tesoro*'; Ronchi, 'Trattato della sfera'; Holloway, *Twice-Told Tales*, 104–5.
- 30 Maggini, *I primi volgarizzamenti*, 23.
- 31 Flutre, *Li fait des Romains*, 189–256; D'Agostino, 'La prosa delle Origini', 108–9; Brugnoli, 'Frammento di una nuova versione italiana dei "Faits des Romains"'; Marroni, *I fatti dei Romani*, 39.
- 32 Giamboni, *Fiore di rettorica*, xxi–xxii.
- 33 Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, 324.
- 34 Varvaro ('Critica di testi classica e romanza') notes that the *Fatti dei Romani* is a good example of an 'active' manuscript tradition subject to innovation and contamination, where every copy differs from its model, the modifications are more likely to happen where there are many manuscripts, the text is anonymous and in prose, and translated from French.

- 35 Stussi, *Fondamenti di critica testuale*, 15.
- 36 D'Agostino, *La prosa delle Origini*, 107–8.
- 37 Ciociola, 'Dante', 137–99. Folena, 'La tradizione'.
- 38 Maggini, *I primi volgarizzamenti*, 23: 'pare più che probabile che il grossolano travestimento in nomi moderni sia dovuto alla disinvoltura di qualche trascrittore che pretese di spiegar meglio'.
- 39 Stussi, *Fondamenti di critica testuale*, 16.
- 40 On the importance of rhetoric for performative speaking in this period, see Milner, 'Communication, Consensus and Conflict' and Milner, 'Citing the Balcony'. On the literary transcription practices of notaries, merchants, and bankers, see Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante*.
- 41 Cox, 'Ciceronian Rhetoric'.
- 42 Giamboni, *Fiore di rettorica*, 103–4: 'Nel primaio luogo, di tutta questa cosa una imagine faremo, pognendo uno infermo che giaccia nel letto . . . , e al letto suo l'acusatò porremo che 'l beveraggio nella man diritta tenga, e ne la manca la tavola, e 'l medico i coglioni del becco. In questo modo e de' testimonii, e dell'hereditade, e di colui ch'è morto potremo memoria avere.' Cf. *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.20.33.
- 43 Bartolommeo [sic] da San Concordio, *Ammaestramenti degli antichi*, 366: 'Nel luogo primo ci conviene porre Domizio che al cielo alzi le mani (ma Bartolino, che scrisse su Tullio, sì pone meglio queste cose) ma non curo, perchè in questo scritto non sta se non come sta il testo puro.'
- 44 On Bartolinus, see Wertis, 'The Commentary of Bartolinus'.
- 45 Bartolommeo da San Concordio, *Ammaestramenti degli antichi*, 392: 'Guarda qui bene, che più malagevole sarebbe ad intendere questo scritto che non sarebbe il testo solo. Ma, congiungendo poi questo scritto col testo, potrai assai bene intendere questo, e non è proprio questo scritto, ma è il testo per volgare, ma meglio sta il testo per la lettera.'
- 46 Giamboni, *Fiore di rettorica*, 143: 'E perché dire come si vogliono trovare i detti luoghi, e come si vogliono trovare le dette imagini, e chente vogliono esere, e quante, e per che ordine, e come le dette imagini si vogliono alogare ne' detti luoghi, acciò che possano dare verace e ferma memoria delle cose a. cche sono per similitudine imagnate, onde l'uomo si vuole ricordare, è materia di tanta sottigliezza che traslatare in volgare non si potrebe che se n'avesse per li laice perfetto intendimento, sì mi tacerò in traslatare più di questa materia. E coloro che sono letterati, se della detta memoria artificale vogliono sapere, legano nella Rettorica di Tulio, là ove ne troveranno pienamente trattato; e coloro che sono laici tengano a mente le cose come possono il meglio, secondo ch'è loro dato per natura.'
- 47 *Ibid.*, 158–9: 'Seguitasi ora, nel libro del frate Guidotto, un'altra volta dottrina sopra le sei parti de la diceria, cioè sopra il proemio, narrazione, divisione, confermazione, rispensione, e conchiusione. Ma io scrittore, esaminato e veduto chiarissimamente che innanzi al trattato de l'ornamento de la favella egli quel trattato scrisse, e che tra questo trattato e quello è neuna differenza o di parole o d'effetto, sì lascerò stare, e passerò al terzo trattato del

libro; ma chi 'l pur volesse come il frate lo scrisse, ciò non biasimo né lodo. ... E se tu di': "A che difetto l'aporrà, al frate o forse a scrittore?", rispondo: "A scrittore no, ché pur alcuna diversità è da quello dinanzi a questo, ma non che vaglia nulla." S'io dico che 'l frate era allotta ebbro, o dico che egli ignorasse quel che faceva, leggiermente proverai il contrario; pur dico che questo trattato due volte non bisognava; perché 'l facesse, nol so. ... Se tu non mi lasci stare, io dirò il peggio ch'io potrò, cioè che né tu né gli altri sacerdoti leggesti mai libro se non come fanciullo de sei anni, che rincorre l'a. b. c. e 'l *Deus in nomine*.'

- 48 Translation by Cox, 'Ciceronian Rhetorical Theory', 205.
- 49 Benvenuti Papi, 'Corsini Neri', 15.
- 50 Baldini, 'Zuccherò Bencivenni', 29.
- 51 The two parts of the manuscript are Riccard. 2418, and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 67. Parodi ('Le storie di Cesare') brought the Hamilton manuscript to Florence and confirmed their relation.
- 52 An *idiota* is someone who knows his own vernacular, but not Latin. Rizzo, *Ricerche sul latino umanistico*, 18. Schneider, 'Das Wort idiota'.
- 53 Petrucci, *Writers and Readers*, 178. Staccioli ('Sul ms. Hamilton 67') defines Lapo's hand as *notula*.
- 54 Ms. Hamilton 67, fol. 46d: 'Ora parleremo e vi conterò la grande ghuerra che' Romani ebero chon Giughurta, re di Numidia, che così va la storia p(er) ordine.' Staccioli, 'Sul ms. Hamilton 67', 32.
- 55 For well-illustrated examples, see Papini, '*I fatti dei Romani*', 99.
- 56 Ms. Hamilton 67, fol. 92b; Staccioli, 'Sul ms. Hamilton 67', 35: 'Il detto Marcho Tulio Ciecerone fecie una molto bella dicieria e molto utile a la repub(blica), la quale elli poi formò e rechò in iscritto, donde tutti si ne maravigliarono. La quale dicieria no mise Salustio in suo libro, però che no volea bene a Marcho Tulio Ciecerone. E però metteremo noi qui la detta dicieria, sì come Marcho Tulio disse e parlò contro a Chatelina dinazi al sanato e a più altra gente che raghunata v'era.'
- 57 See Maggini's analysis of the relations among the orations in his 'Orazioni Ciceroniane'; and Maggini, *I primi volgarizzamenti*, 28–34. The orations themselves are in *Le tre orazioni*, ed. Rezzi; and Staccioli, 'Sul ms. Hamilton 67', 42.
- 58 Ms. Hamilton 67, fols. 102d–103a; Staccioli, 'Sul ms. Hamilton 67', 36: 'Ma questa dicieria di Ciesari trovam noi p(er) altri traslatatori più brevemente iscritta, ma p(er) tutto ciò contiene in questo modo. Ma p(er)ché in questi tempi sono tenute le dicierie brevi più belle che quelle che contengono troppe parole, sìlla iscriveremo quie ap(r)esso sì come maestro Brunetto Latini di Firenze la traslatò di gramaticha in volghare.'
- 59 Staccioli ('Sul ms. Hamilton 67', 40n) suggests that Lapo's 'day job' explained the slow pace of his transcriptions.
- 60 Although Maggini (*I primi volgarizzamenti*, 35–6) is adamant that Lapo takes this speech from the French *Fait*, rather than from the *Tresor*, Papini, '*I fatti dei Romani*', 102, thinks that it was taken from the Italian version of the *Tresor*. At any rate, Lapo is clearly using more than one source here.

- 61 Bénéteau, 'Per un'edizione', 401–11.
- 62 Marroni (ed.), *I fatti dei Romani*, 39; De Robertis, 'Cantari antichi', 136–7.
- 63 Buridant, '*Translatio medievalis*', 117–121.
- 64 Kennedy, 'The Scribe as Editor'.
- 65 Tanturli, 'Volgarizzamenti e ricostruzione dell'antico'; Casella, *Tra Boccaccio e Petrarca*; Billanovich, 'Il Boccaccio, il Petrarca e le più antiche traduzioni'.
- 66 BNF, ms. Panciatichiano 58, fol. 5r, also found in BNF, ms. Palatino 762. Text transcribed in Lippi Bigazzi (ed.), *Un volgarizzamento inedito*, xxii: 'Maximo Valerio . . . il quale altra volta recaì di gramatica in questa volgare lingua, ma però che certi savi religiosi, considerata l'afecctione che ' layci portano a questo libro per le narrazioni de' fatti e detti degni di memoria che in esso sono, e considerata la brevitade d'esse storie, che tocca l'autore, la quale ingenera agli uditori sete di più steso stilo, feciono sopra esso, a modo di chiose, certi scritti, onde, pregato di mettere quelle chiose sopra questo testo e specialmente perché in più parti per la povertà de la mia facultade non sentia quello che li chiosatori sentono, mi conviene di novello ritrarlo a la detta lingua insieme con le chiose necessarie e utili; però non si meravigli chi vedrae diverso questo secondo volgare dal primo.'
- 67 The 'vulgate' *Valerio Massimo* is the version published by De Visiani.
- 68 Zampieri, 'Una primitiva redazione'. This redaction is preserved in two witnesses: Laur., ms. Ashburnham 526, and BNF, ms. Palatino 459. Marchesi, 'Di alcuni volgarizzamenti'.
- 69 These are Laur., Acquisti e doni 418 and Vatican, ms. Ferrajoli 559.
- 70 Marginal gloss to *Valerio Massimo* 2.10.7; text in Tanturli, 'Volgarizzamenti e ricostruzione dell'amico', 853.
- 71 Marginal glosses to *Valerio Massimo* 1.1.5; Tanturli, 849, 854: 'Questa lettera è da diversi diversamente intesa, che la dove dice "biscanto" alcuno dice "stropiccio" e la dove dice "cose" alcuno dice "questioni", e chiosano così: che questi due udivano certi minuti piati in alcuno tempio e perché dierono impedimento a l'ufficio de' sacerdoti perderono la dignitate dove erano. Chi pone la lettera come è estima che costoro male cantassono e con infamia d'alcuno dio alcune cose basse e vili; di che lo dio indegnato diede per responso che' Romani non avrebbero vittoria sotto il conducimento di costoro due.'
- 72 Zampieri, 'Una primitive redazione', 47–53.
- 73 Casella, 'Tra Boccaccio e Petrarca', 109–10, 243, 154–60.
- 74 Marginal gloss to *Valerio Massimo* 2.2.2; Casella, 'Tra Boccaccio e Petrarca', 154–5; Tanturli, 'Volgarizzamenti e ricostruzione dell'antico', 872.
- 75 Marginal gloss to *Valerio Massimo* 3.2.10; Tanturli, 'Volgarizzamenti e ricostruzione dell'antico', 854.
- 76 Marginal gloss to *Valerio Massimo* 3.3.2; Tanturli, 'Volgarizzamenti e ricostruzione dell'antico', 875.
- 77 Tanturli, 'Volgarizzamenti e ricostruzione dell'antico', 873.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 848–9. Rouse and Rouse, '*Ordinatio and Compilatio Revisited*'.
- 79 Zetzel, *Marginal Scholarship*.

## 3 CULTURAL RICOCHET

- 1 Terracini, *Lingua libera e libertà linguistica*, 225: 'Verso la Francia siamo dinanzi a una copiosa letteratura di volgarizzamento, narrativo o anche di contenuto manifestamente didattico e tecnico, che ha molta analogia – e sovente si confonde – con il volgarizzamento latino. ... Verso la Provenza, l'atteggiamento del volgare è alquanto diverso: ci troviamo qui di fronte alle più sottili, ma in certo senso illimitate possibilità di trasposizione cui dà luogo la traduzione concentrata in una forma di poesia, da poeta a poeta, più che da gente a gente. Qui non v'è luogo per volgarizzamenti.'
- 2 Terracini, 'Il problema della traduzione', 75: 'Vossler interpreta le traduzioni tedesche della Commedia come una conquista della cultura tedesca; interpretazione che a noi, ai quali par ovvio pensare che si apre in questo caso una via all'espansione della cultura nostra, sa di imperialismo germanico. Forse abbiamo ragione tutti quanti.'
- 3 Balsamo, *Les Rencontres des muses*, 21–2.
- 4 Meyer, 'De l'expansion de la langue française en Italie', 64.
- 5 Monfrin, 'Étapes et formes de l'influence des lettres italiennes en France'.
- 6 Hauvette, 'Les Relations littéraires de la France et de l'Italie', 12: 'Par bonheur, les Italiens avaient suivi avec un intérêt passionné le riche développement de notre poésie; à l'heure où notre décadence s'annonçait par tant de signes, ils étaient mûrs pour reprendre notre oeuvre, pour la continuer avec un succès éclatant et pour préparer l'avènement des littératures modernes'; *ibid.*, 23: 'ce que je crois, c'est que la nation italienne n'a pas encore donné sa mesure, – en littérature s'entend – depuis qu'elle a conquis son indépendance, et qu'elle est appelée, grâce à la richesse, à la pénétration de son intelligence, à la souplesse et à la limpide sonorité de sa langue, à trouver encore des accents capables de charmer et d'instruire l'Europe.'
- 7 Busby, *Codex and Context*, 598.
- 8 Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia*, 125–78, 136–7: 'un dato di fatto incontrovertibile. . . quanto allora in Italia si sapeva della storia di Roma antica proveniva non da testi latini, ma direttamente o indirettamente da testi francesi'.
- 9 Della Giovanna, 'S. Francesco d'Assisi giullare'.
- 10 See Meyer, 'De l'expansion de la langue française en Italie', 69: 'joculatores qui ludunt in publico causa mercedis'; 'orbi qui vadunt in curia communis Bononie et cantant de domino Rolando et Oliverio'.
- 11 Novati, *Attraverso il medioevo*, 258: 'soltanto sul cadere del Dugento s'è potuto assistere nella penisola allo spettacolo, curioso davvero, di tutto un popolo che da una letteratura straniera mutua quasi unicamente il proprio intellettuale alimento'.
- 12 See Gaunt and Kay, *The Troubadours*.
- 13 Roncaglia, 'Le origini', 228. See also Martinez, 'Italy', 279–94.
- 14 Renzi, 'Il francese come lingua letteraria', 565. See Marshall (ed.), *Donatz Proensals of Uc Faïdit*, 62–5; and Richards, *Dante and the Roman de la Rose*.



- 15 On Dante's relation to the lyric past, see Barolini, *Dante's Poets*; Barolini, 'Dante and the lyric past'; and Chapter 5, below.
- 16 Antonelli, 'Canzoniere Vaticano latino 3793'; Picone, 'The Formation of Literary Italian'; Roncaglia, "'De quibusdam provincialibus translatis in lingua nostra'"; Giannini, 'Tradurre fino a tradire'; Brugnolo, 'I siciliani e l'arte dell'imitazione'.
- 17 Gaunt and Kay, Introduction, *The Troubadours*. Busby, *Codex and Context*, 601.
- 18 Folena ('Tradizione e cultura trobadorica', 468) considered the Roland tradition in Italy to be a sporadic case of anachronism. Cf. Richards, *Dante and the Roman de la Rose*.
- 19 Delcorno Branca, *Tristano e Lancilotto in Italia*, 25.
- 20 D'Agostino, 'Itinerari e forme della prosa', 560. For *Tristano Riccardiano*, see Parodi (ed.), *Tristano Riccardiano*; Heijkant (ed.), *Tristano Riccardiano*; and Psaki (ed.), *Italian Literature*, vol. II.
- 21 Savo, 'Ignoti frammenti di un "Tristano" dugentesco'; Allaire (ed.), *Il Tristano Panciatichiano*.
- 22 Delcorno Branca (*Tristano e Lancilotto in Italia*, 146) believes that Dante (and hence his imagined Francesca) might have read a manuscript in which Lancelot is said to have kissed the queen, as Francesca claims, in contrast with the vast majority that tell of the queen taking the initiative.
- 23 Roncaglia, 'La letteratura franco-veneta', 747; Cigni, 'La ricezione medievale della letteratura francese'; Patton (ed.), *Les Prophecies de Merlin*. It is not certain whether Rustichello's French text is the 'original' of Marco Polo's travels, since the fourteenth-century Latin translation claims to have been made from an Italian vernacular 'in nostra lingua'. See Critchley, *Marco Polo's Book*, 138.
- 24 Baldelli, 'La letteratura volgare in Toscana', 73.
- 25 Roncaglia, 'La letteratura franco-veneta'; D'Agostino, 'Itinerari e forme della prosa', 557–64; Segre, 'La letteratura franco-veneta'.
- 26 Aldobrandino da Siena, *Le régime du corps*.
- 27 Melani, 'A proposito dei cosiddetti "Mémoires"'.  
 28 The traditional attribution of the *Tesoro* to Bono Giamboni is now discredited. The immediacy of the Italian rendition has helped to persuade some that Brunetto himself might be its author. See Ciccuto, 'Tresor di Brunetto Latini'; Holloway, *Twice-Told Tales*. But Pietro Beltrami ('Per il testo del "Tresor"' and now in Latini, *Tresor*, xxiv) does not think it likely.
- 29 Eusebi, 'La più antica traduzione francese': 'Et por ce que cil qui les translate ne fu pas de la langue françoise, ne de si haut enging ne de si parfonde science come a la matiere aïert, il s'excuse a tous ceulz qui l'uevre verront, que il ne le blasment, se il a failli en aucune part de la propriété de la langue ou aus sentences de l'auctor, et leur prie humblement que, par leur bonté et par leur franchise l'en vueillent corriger et amender en l'un et en l'autre, car il confesse bien que ce fu trop grant presumption d'emprendre si haute chose a translater.'

- 30 Meyer, 'De l'expansion de la langue française en Italie', 97: 'Mès il ne le fist pas de son gré, car misire Bartholomy Singnilerfe de Naples, conte de Caserte et grant chambellenc du roiaume de Cezile, l'en pria et li commanda. Et por ce que il le tenoit a son seignor, il ne l'osa refuser, ains emprist a fere chose contre son pooir et contre sa force.'
- 31 Beretta Spampinato, 'Deloc, Daniele', 192: 'tot soie je povre letreüre et de povre science garniç, e tot soit greveuse chose a ma langue profferre le droit François, por ce que lombard soi (I *Prol.*, 5–6)'. See also Tjerneld (ed.), 'Moamin' et 'Ghatrif'.
- 32 Latini, *Tresor* 1.1, p. 6: 'et se aucun demandoit por quoi ceste livre est escrit en roman selonc le patois de France, puis que nos [so]mes ytalien, je diroie ce est par.ii. raisons: l'une que nos [so]mes en France, l'autre por ce que la parleure est plus delitable et plus comune a touz languagez.'
- 33 Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, 2: 'Et porce que langue française cort parmi le monde et est la plus delitable a lire et a oïr que nule autre, me sui je entremis de translater l'ancienne estoire des Veneciens de latin en français.'
- 34 Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia* (hereafter *DVE*) 1.8.6: 'Qui autem si dicunt a predictis finibus orientalem tenent, videlicet usque ad promuntorium illud Ytalie, qua sinus Adriatici maris incipit, et Siciliam. Sed loquentes oïl quodam modo septentrionales sunt respectu istorum: nam ab oriente Alamannos habent et ab occidente et anglico mari vallati sunt et montibus Aragonie terminati; a meridie quoque Provincialibus et Apenini devexione clauduntur.' See Mazzocco, *Linguistic Theories in Dante and the Humanists*; Wright (ed.), *Latin and the Romance languages in the early Middle Ages*.
- 35 Dante, *DVE* 1.10.1: 'Triphario nunc existente nostro ydiomate'; 1.8.5: 'tercium tenuit ydioma, licet nunc tripharium videatur: nam alii oc, alii oïl, alii si affirmando locuntur, ut puta Yspani, Franci et Latini. Signum autem quod ab uno eodemque ydiomate istarum trium gentium progrediantur vulgaria, in promptu est, quia multa per eadem vocabula nominare videntur, ut "Deum", "celum", "amorem", "mare", "terram", "est", "vivit", "moritur", "amat", alia fere omnia'; 1.9.2: 'Est igitur super quod gradimur ydioma tractando tripharium, ut superius dictum est; nam alii oc, alii si, alii vero dicunt oïl'.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 1.10.2–3: 'Allegat ergo pro se lingua oïl quod propter sui faciliorem ac delectabiliorem vulgaritatem quicquid redactum est sive inventum ad vulgare prosaicum, suum est: videlicet Biblia cum Troianorum Romanorumque gestibus compilata et Arturi regis ambages pulcherrime et quamplures alie ystorie ac doctrine. Pro se vero argumentatur alia, scilicet oc, quod vulgares eloquentes in ea primitus poetati sunt tanquam in perfectiori dulciorique loquela, ut puta Petrus de Alvernia et alii antiquiores doctores. Tertia quoque, Oque> Latinorum est, se duobus privilegiis actestatur preesse: primo quidem quod qui dulcius subtiliusque poetati vulgariter sunt, hii familiares et domestici sui sunt, puta Cynus Pistoriensis et amicus eius; secundo quia magis videntur initi gramatice que communis est, quod rationabiliter

insipientibus videtur gravissimum argumentum. Nos vero iudicium relinquentes in hoc ...'

- 37 Punzi, 'Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio', 182; Costantini, 'Prosa 3 di *Roman de Troie*'.
- 38 Jung, *La Légende de Troie en France*, 16–330; *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*. For the Italian versions, see Ronchi, 'I volgarizzamenti italiani dell'*Histoire ancienne*'.
- 39 Mengaldo, 'Oil', 133: 'Col che non s'intende dire però che D., qui necessariamente conciso, abbia in mente solo e alla lettera opere scritte in francese: è probabile che sottintendesse anche un richiamo al fenomeno così frequente dell' "imitazione" culturale (traduzioni, adattamenti, ecc.) di testi storici, romanzeschi, dottrinali francesi in opere di autori italiani pur scritte nel nostro volgare.'
- 40 Latini, *Tresor* 1.73.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 1.1, p. 4. Cf. 3.73, pp. 788–9: 'vieut m[ai]stre Brunet Latin acomplir a son ami ce qu'il li avoit promis entor le commencement dou premier livre, [la ou il dist que son livre] defineroit en politique, c'est a dire le gouvernement des citez, qui est la plus noble et la haute science, et le plus noble office qui soit en terre'.
- 42 Marchesi, 'Il compendio volgare dell'Etica'. See now Gentili, *L'uomo aristotelico*.
- 43 Segre, 'Jean de Meun e Bono Giamboni', 274.
- 44 Beltrami, 'Appunti su vicende del "Tresor"'.
- 45 Crespo, 'Volgarizzamenti', 462.
- 46 Latini, *Tesoretto*, lines 1351–6: 'cerchi nel gran Tesoro / chi' io fatt'ho per coloro / c'hanno il core più alto: / là farò grande salto / per dirle più distese / ne la lingua franzese'; Beltrami, 'Appunti su vicende del "Tresor"', 319.
- 47 On the possible influence of the *Roman de la Rose* on the *Tesoretto*, see Rossi, 'Messer Burnetto e la "Rose"'.
- 48 On the *Fait*, see Flutre, *Li fait des Romains*; Beer, *A Medieval Caesar*; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*.
- 49 Segre, 'Jean de Meun e Bono Giamboni', 273: 'Questa civiltà matura e piena di vigore (ricordiamo la sua affermazione in Inghilterra, il suo impulso in Italia) non richiedeva a quella latina giustificazioni di prestigio, elementi di svolgimento. Organismo perfetto, non aveva bisogno di rammemorarsi nella storia, ed era, anzi, statica nelle sue concezioni e nel suo senso del mondo. La storia serviva, semmai, come veicolo per l'immaginazione: si pensi al numero di romanzi che la materia classica riducevano al gusto del tempo, oolgevano a effetti di meraviglia.'
- 50 Beer, 'Julius Caesar, Philip Augustus'; Flutre, *Li fait des Romains*, 445.
- 51 Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia*, 125–78, 136–7, 141.
- 52 Beer, 'Julius Caesar, Philip Augustus'; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 120.
- 53 Guenée, 'La Culture historique des nobles'.
- 54 Meyer 'Les Premières Compilations françaises d'histoire ancienne', 24.
- 55 Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 57.

- 56 Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles 10 Explicit, fol. 170c; Flutre, *Li fait des Romains*, 189: 'Explicit li roumanz de Julius Cesar, qui fu escrit a Roume en l'an de grace mil.cc.lxxx. et.xiiij et fu l'essamplaire pris a messire Luqe de Sabele, un chevalier de Roume'.
- 57 *L'Intelligenza*, *L'Aquila volante*, *Fiore d'Italia*, *Libro imperiale*, *Farsaglia in ottava rima*, *La Morte di Cesare per rima*, *Le Battegle e Vittorie di Ciesere*, *Fiorita*, *L'Avventuroso Ciciliano*, *Dittamondo*, Giovanni Villani's *Cronica*, Jacopo della Lana's commentary on *Paradiso* 6. See Flutre, *Li fait des Romains*, 313, and Marroni, *I fatti dei Romani*.
- 58 See also Parodi, 'Le storie di Cesare'; Bénétéau, 'Per un'edizione', 401.
- 59 Novati, *Attraverso il medioevo*, 261.
- 60 Thomas, 'Aquilon de Bavière', 547: 'E por caver malanconie e doner dellit e gioie a ceus che unt giantil coragie, l'ai redute in lingue que pora esre intandue da homes e da dames literés e non literés.' Renzi, 'Il francese come lingua letteraria', 565.
- 61 Dante, *Convivio* I.9.5: 'dico che manifestamente si può vedere come lo latino averebbe a pochi dato lo suo beneficio, ma lo volgare servirà veramente a molti. Ché la bontà de l'animo, la quale questo servizio attende, è in coloro che per malvagia disusanza del mondo hanno lasciata la litteratura a coloro che l'hanno fatta di donna meretrice; e questi nobili sono principi, baroni, cavalieri, e molt'altra nobile gente, non solamente maschi ma femmine, che sono molti e molte in questa lingua, volgari, e non litterati.'
- 62 Niccolò da Verona, *Opere*, p. 102, lines 28–37.
- 63 *Ibid.*, pp. 14–17.
- 64 Roncaglia, 'La letteratura franco-veneta'; Segre, 'La letteratura franco-veneta'; Usher, 'Origins and Duecento: Prose'; Infurna, 'La letteratura franco-veneta'.
- 65 Niccolò da Verona, *Opere*, pp. 25–6.
- 66 *Ibid.*, pp. 156–7, lines 1938–44.
- 67 On the prose movement: S. Luongo, 'Dal verso alla prosa'; Lynde-Recchia, *Prose, Verse, and Truth-Telling*.
- 68 The *Fiore* is preserved in a single manuscript which was once joined with a manuscript of the *Rose*, written in French by an Italian hand: Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine H 438. A portion of the manuscript (Ashburnham 1234), now detached, containing the *Detto d'amore*, is in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Contini, 'Un nodo della cultura medievale'; De Robertis Boniforti, 'Nota sul codice e la sua scrittura'. For the impulse to suppress Jean de Meun as a literary model and rival, see Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, 85n; Brownlee, 'The Conflicted Genealogy of Cultural Authority'; Barański, 'The Ethics of Literature'.
- 69 Durrieu, 'Jean de Meun et l'Italie'.
- 70 Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 206, lines 6707–8: 'dom il est or rais coronez / et vicaires de tout l'empire'. See Rossi, 'Messer Burnetto e la "Rose"'.  
 71 Other links between Dante and Jean de Meun's stay in Bologna are the fact that Tommasino delle Querce, the same notary who in 1269 entered the

- record of the shipment of books in the Bolognese *Memoriali*, also inserted into those pages in 1287 Dante's sonnet on the Garisenda; and that the manuscript illuminator, Oderisi da Gubbio, whom Dante made protagonist of *Purgatorio* 11, is listed as a witness in that same document. Rossi, 'Dante, la *Rose* e il *Fiorè*'. See also Rossi's introduction in Guido Guinizelli, *Rime*, xvi.
- 72 'Orgy' is Parodi's term in his preface to *Il Fiore e il Detto d'Amore*, in *Le opere di Dante*, v–xx. See also Harrison, 'The Bare Essential'; Barański, 'The Ethics of Literature'; and 'Il *Fiore* e la tradizione delle *Translationes*'.
- 73 Rossi, 'Messer Burnetto e la "Rose"'; Billotte, *Le vocabulaire de la traduction*; Segre, 'Jean de Meun e Bono Giamboni', 281; Minnis, *Magister amoris*, 3.
- 74 Dionisotti ('Proposta per Guido Giudice') thinks it more plausible that there was a single literary judge by that name, mentioned in archival documents ranging from 1243 to 1280, who finished the *Historia* at a very advanced age, rather than two such prominent figures sharing the same name. Richards (*Dante and the Roman de la Rose*, 37–9) refers to the *Historia* simply as 'a translation of Benoît's *Troie*'.
- 75 Punzi, 'Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio'; Bruni, 'Tra Darete-Ditti e Virgilio'; Frassinetti, 'Darete' and 'Ditti'.
- 76 Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, lines 5271–4.
- 77 Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia trojana*, 110.
- 78 For a list Latinized French words found in Guido's *Historia*, see Constans' edition of Benoît's *Roman de Troie*, 320.
- 79 Chesney, 'Roman de Troie, A neglected prose version', but see Jung, *La Légende de Troie en France*, 485.
- 80 Chesney, 'Roman de Troie', 46.
- 81 Guido de Columnis, *Historia destructionis*, 3: 'Licet cotidie uetera recentibus obruant, nonnulla tamen iam dudum uetera precesserunt que sic sui magnitudine uiuaci sunt digna memoria ut nec ea cecis morsibus uetustas abolere preualeat nec exacti temporis antiqua curriculua sopita taciturnitate concludant. Vigent enim in illis pro gestorum magnitudine continuata recordia dum preteritorum in posteros sermo dirigitur. Et antiquorum scripta, fidelia conseruatricia premissorum, preterita uelud presentia representant, et uiris strenuis quos longa mundi etas iam dudum per mortem absorbit per librorum uigiles lectiones, ac si uiuerent, spiritum ymaginarie uirtutis infundunt. Vt continuis recordiis successorum floreret in mentibus, multorum scribentium calamus fideli scriptura depinxit.' English translation by Mary E. Meek.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 3–4: 'Nonnulli enim iam eius ystorie poetice alludendo ueritatem ipsius in figurata commenta quibusdam fictionibus transsumpserunt, ut non uera que scripserunt uiderentur audientibus perscripsisse sed potius fabulosa. Inter quos suis diebus maxime auctoritatis Homerus apud Grecos eius ystorie puram et simplicem ueritatem in uersuta uestigia uariauit, fingens multa que non fuerunt et que fuerunt aliter transformando.'
- 83 *Ibid.*, 4: 'ea que per Dytem Grecum et Frigium Daretem, qui tempore Troyani belli continue in eorum exercitibus fuere presentes et horum que

- uiderunt fuerunt fidelissimi relatores, in presentem libellum per me iudicem Guidonem de Columpna de Messana transsumpta legentur, prout in duobus libris eorum inscriptum quasi una uocis consonantia inuentum est in Athenis’.
- 84 *Ibid.*, 4: ‘in vtilitatem eorum precipue qui gramaticam legunt, ut separare sciant uerum a falso de hiis que de dicta ystoria in libris gramaticalibus sunt descripta’.
- 85 Dares, *Daretis Phrygii De excidio Troiae historia*, 1: ‘Cum multa ago Athenis curiose, inveni historiam Daretis Phrygii ipsius manu scriptam, ut titulus indicat, quam de Gracis et Troianis memoriae mandavit, quem ego summo amore complexus continuo transtuli. cui nihil adiciendum vel diminuendum rei reformandae causa putavi, aloquin mea posset videri. optimum ergo duxi ita ut fuit vere et simpliciter perscripta, sic eam ad verbum in latinatem transvertere.’ English translation by R. M. Frazier, Jr, 133.
- 86 Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. Constans, lines 81–8.
- 87 *Ibid.*, lines 99–110.
- 88 *Ibid.*, lines 119–22.
- 89 *Ibid.*, lines 139–44.
- 90 *Ibid.*, lines 35–9.
- 91 Meek, Preface, in Guido delle Colonne, *Historia destructionis*, xviii–xix.
- 92 Guido delle Colonne, *Historia destructionis*, 4: ‘Quamquam autem hos libellos quidam Romanus, Cornelius nomine, Salustii magni nepos, in Latinam linguam transferre curauerit, tamen, dum laboraret nimium esse breuis, particularia ystorie ipsius que magis possunt allicere animos auditorum pro nimia breuitate indecenter obmisit.’
- 93 *Ibid.*, 4–5: ‘que magis possunt allicere animos auditorum ... de quibus omnibus pro maiori parte Cornelius nihil dixit’.
- 94 Punzi, ‘Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio’, 166–7.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 171–3: ‘Minus tamen usus sum ex Daretis scriptis, quia eiusdem opus non continuatum, sed per transitum compilatum ad me peruenit, quamquam et Gallico idiomate communiter habeatur passimque adeo sit vulgatum, ut vicis cantitetur pariter et plateis. Propter quod non curavi in latinum illud deducere.’ See Benzo D’Alessandria, *Il ‘Chronicon’*.
- 96 Punzi, ‘Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio’, 173–4. See also Ronchi, ‘Un nuovo frammento del *Roman de Troie*’; *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. Baumgartner and Vielliard; Cipriani, *Codici miniati*, 27; Bertoni, ‘Un frammento’.
- 97 Punzi (‘Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio’, 175) points to Vatican, ms. Reg. lat 1505, whose miniatures are accompanied by explanatory rubrics that invade and almost take over the transcribed text.
- 98 Riccard., 2433. Jung, *La Légende de Troie en France*, 85–9.
- 99 Punzi, ‘Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio’, 182. Rizzi, *Udine*, 68–73; and Cozzi (ed.), *La ‘storia di Troia’ dell’antica loggia di Udine*.
- 100 Punzi, ‘Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio’, 182. Jung, *La Légende de Troie en France*, 503–5. For this Prose 4 version, see *Le Roman de Troie en prose*, ed. Vielliard.

- 101 Punzi, 'Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio', 184. See Gozzi, *La storia di Troia*; and Gozzi, 'Dal *Roman de Troie* di Benoît'; Carlesso, 'La versione sud'.
- 102 Viellard, 'Le *Roman de Troie* en prose dans la version du ms. Rouen, Bibl. mun. O. 33'; Jung, 'Le *Roman de Troie* en prose du manuscrit Rouen. Bib. Mun. o.33'; Costantini, 'Prosa 3 di *Roman de Troie*'.
- 103 Perugi, 'Chiose gallo-romanze alle *Eroidi*'.
- 104 Punzi, 'Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio', 188. Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia trojana*, 174–84.
- 105 Punzi, 'Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio', 190.
- 106 Punzi, 'Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio', 196. De Blasi, 'Il rifacimento napoletano', 119–21, 127–8.
- 107 Punzi, 'Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio', 196–7.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 199. See Morf, 'Notes pour servir à l'histoire de la légende de Troie'.
- 109 De Blasi (ed.), *Libro de la destructione de Troye*, 14: 'E si li suoy lamienti (di Cassandra) fosser stati per li Troyani exauditi, fuorzi Troya non averria incurto tanta periculi, li quali so' facti romanzi a la gente che per nullo tiempo se amentecheranno a legere né a romanzare.'
- 110 Busby, *Codex and Context*, 608.
- 111 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Française (hereafter BnF), ms. Ital. 617. See De Blasi (ed.), *Libro de la destruction de Troye*.
- 112 Vatican, ms. Reg. lat. 1505, f. 232v; Punzi, 175; Buonocore (ed.), 'Vedere i classici', 283: 'Ditis grezois escrist delle traison iusque la fin et il o ses eus le vit; Daires Troiens chi escrist cest livres jusque la traison de Troie et o ses eus vit. Beneoit de sainte Maure chi tot le livre translata de latin en francois ainsi com aves oy.' The notion of transfer from one author to another – from Homer to Cornelius to Benoît – is also illustrated in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ONB), ms. 2571. See Hermann, *Italienischen Handschriften*, 136–52.
- 113 BnF, fr. 782 min., fols. 2v° and 4v°. See Busby, *Codex and Context*, fig. vi, 25 and fig. vi, 26.
- 114 Terracini, 'Il problema della traduzione', 120.
- 115 BnF, fr. 726. Text in Avril and Gousset (eds.), *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine italienne*, vol. II, 37–8: 'Celui de cui le livre est et celui qui l'escrit'.
- 116 Kelly, *The Conspiracy of Allusion*, 113.
- 117 On the 'state hermeneutics' sponsored by King Charles V of France around 1380, see Lusignan, 'La topique de la *Translatio studii*'; Minnis, *Translations of Authority*, 36; and Hanna *et al.*, 'Latin Commentary Tradition'.

## 4 TRANSLATION AS MIRACLE

- I Belcari, 'Vita del Beato Giovanni Colombini da Siena', 9–10: 'Nell'anno del Signore mille trecento cinquantacinque, essendo un giorno tornato Giovanni a casa con desiderio di prestamente mangiare, e non trovando, com'era consueto, la mensa e' cibi apparecchiati, s'incominciò a turbare colla sua donna e colla serva, riprendendole della loro tardità; allegando

che per strette cagioni gli conveniva sollecitarsi di tornare alle sue mercanzie. Al quale la donna benignamente rispondendo, disse: – Tu hai roba troppa e spesa poca; perché ti dai tanti affanni? – E pregolo ch'egli avesse alquanto di pazienza, che prestissimamente mangiare potrebbe; e disse: – Intanto ch'io ordino le vivande, prendi questo libro e, leggi un poco –; e posegli innanzi un volume, che conteneva alquante vite di sante. Ma Giovanni scandalizzatosi prese il libro e, gittandolo nel mezo della sala, disse a lei: – Tu non hai altri pensieri, che di leggende; a me convien presto tornar al fondaco. – E dicendo queste e più altre parole, la coscienza lo cominciò a rimordere in modo che ricolse il libro di terra e pose si a sedere. Il qual aperto, gli venne innanzi per volontà divina la piacevole storia di maria Egiziaca peccatrice per maravigliosa pietà a Dio convertita. La quale in mentre che Giovanni leggeva, la donna apparecchiò il desinare, e chiamollo che a suo piacere si ponesse a mensa. E Giovanni le rispose: – Aspetta tu ora un poco per infino che questa leggenda io abbia letta. – La quale, avvenga che fusse di lunga narrazione, perché era piena di celeste melodia, gli cominciò addolcire il cuore; e non si volle da quella lezione partire, per infino che al fine pervenisse.'

- 2 Kaborycha, 'Transvestites, Anchorites, Wives, and Martyrs'; Weinstein, *Saints and Society*, 114–20.
- 3 Delcorno, 'Per l'edizione delle "Vite dei Santi Padri"'; 'La tradizione manoscritta delle "Vite dei Santi Padri"', 421–91; 'Diffusione del volgarizzamento', 515–32.
- 4 Belcari, 'Vita del Beato Giovanni Colombini da Siena', 7: 'Avendo io per consolazione de' poveri Gesuati volgarizzato il *Prato spirituale de' Santi Padri*, e altri divoti libri, amantissimo Giovanni, mi piacque voler istendere la vita del beato Giovanni Colombini principiatore della loro congregazione.' For the life of Belcari, see Marti, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v.
- 5 Albertazzi (ed.), *Breve compendio della vita del Beato Giovanni Colombini*; and Albertazzi, 'Sulla vita del Beato Giovanni Colombini'. The anonymous fifteenth-century *volgarizzamento* is included as an appendix in Gagliardi, *I Pauperes Yesuati*, 487–511.
- 6 Delcorno, 'Produzione e circolazione dei volgarizzamenti religiosi', 4.
- 7 See Zarri, *Le sante vive* and Zardin, 'Mercato librario e letture devote'.
- 8 Bec, *Les Marchands écrivains*, 393–4: 'Chompero molti libri in volghare, per legierli quando mi rincrescerà i fatti della merchatantia, e per fare quello debo inverso Dio. Sono tutti libri che parlano di cose vertudiose, cioè sono tutti Vangeli, Epistole, il Detto e la Vita di tutt'i Santi e molte altre cose e buone.' See also Petrucci, 'Storia e geografia delle culture scritte'; Petrucci, 'Le biblioteche antiche', 545.
- 9 See De Luca, Introduction to *Prosatori minori del Trecento*, xiii.
- 10 *Ibid.*, xxix: 'Nel volgare italiano del Trecento è la tradizione cristiana, dalla bibbia ai Padri, dai Padri ai Dottori, dai mistici agli asceti, dai metafisici ai moralisti, dai predicatori ai teologi, dagl'inni alle laudi, dalle musiche alle



pitture e alle architetture (appunto nei testi letterari si dovranno ricercare e scoprire le “istruzioni”, che venivano poi passate agli artisti, i quali si definivano “autori per analfabeti”), dai vescovi ai monaci, dai fondatori d’Ordini agli eremiti più persi, dai testi dei confini dell’India e dell’Etiopia ai testi celtici, dalla storia più savia alla leggenda più pazza.’

- 11 Dalarun and Leonardi (eds.), *Biblioteca agiografica italiana*, 5: ‘I testi italiani sono, per la maggior parte, traduzioni o adattamenti di fonti scritte in un’altra lingua (greco, latino, francese, etc.).’
- 12 Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 166. On Renaissance exercises of version, paraphrase and ‘double translation’ between verse and prose, see Morse, *Truth and Convention*, 30.
- 13 Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 203.
- 14 Goullet, ‘Une typologie des réécritures’; Goullet and Heinzelmann (eds.), *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques*; Goullet (ed.), *La réécriture hagiographique dans l’occident médiéval*; and Genette, *Palimpsests*.
- 15 Sanok, *Her Life Historical*; Millet, ‘Mouvance and the Medieval Author’; Wogan-Browne, ‘The Apple’s Message’.
- 16 Goody, *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, 11–20, 199–241; Moore, ‘Literacy and the Making of Heresy’, 22.
- 17 For the topos of heretic as illiterate, see Biller, ‘Heresy and Literacy’. For the equation of *clericus* with *litteratus*, see Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 175–201. For the orientation of even an illiterate group around the written word, see Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*.
- 18 As Katherine Ibbett pointed out to me, the story of Alexis itself involves the discovery of writing on the body of the saint, thereby intensifying the relation of texts to conversion even for non-readers.
- 19 The account is from an anonymous chronicle, written about 1218. Translation from Robinson, *Readings in European History*. The description of Valdes as ‘non multum litteratus’ is from the account of the Dominican Stephen of Bourbon. See Patschovsky, ‘The Literacy of Waldensianism’, 117.
- 20 Text of Stephen of Bourbon in Patschovsky and Selge (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Waldenser*. Patschovsky, ‘Literacy’, 113.
- 21 See Boyle, ‘Innocent III and Vernacular Versions’. Patschovsky, ‘Literacy’, 116.
- 22 Patschovsky, ‘Literacy’, 128.
- 23 Moore, ‘Literacy and the Making of Heresy’, 23; Patschovsky, ‘Literacy’, 132.
- 24 Pseudo-David of Augsburg, in Patschovsky, ‘Literacy’, 133.
- 25 Berger, ‘La Bible italienne au Moyen Âge’. See De Poerck, ‘Le Bible’; Gasca Queirazza, ‘Le traduzioni della Bibbia’; Leonardi, ‘Volgarizzamenti italiani della Bibbia’; and Barbieri, ‘Panorama delle traduzioni bibliche in volgare’.
- 26 Dante, *DVE* 1.10.2: ‘Biblia cum Troianorum Romanorumque gestibus compilata’.
- 27 Leonardi, ‘Versioni e revisioni dell’Apocalisse in volgare’.
- 28 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, ms. It. 1.3. Calabretta, ‘Contatti italo-francesi nella storia dei più antichi volgarizzamenti della Bibbia’.
- 29 Asperti, ‘I Vangeli in volgare italiano’, 119–44.

- 30 Zinelli, “Donde noi metremo lo primo in francescho”.
- 31 Leonardi, ‘Versioni e revisioni dell’Apocalisse in volgare’, 82.
- 32 Leonard Boyle (‘Innocent III and Vernacular Versions’) made a subtle reading of the injunctions against translation, which he denied were such.
- 33 Pym, ‘On the Historical Epistemologies of Bible Translating’.
- 34 The story is of Gregory, later bishop of Utrecht, as a boy in an encounter with the visiting missionary Boniface in 721. See Smith, *Europe After Rome*, 40
- 35 Fragnito, ‘Il ritorno al latino, ovvero la fine dei volgarizzamenti’, 398. See also Minnis, *Translations of Authority*, 32, for a discussion of the huge dissemination of Lollard Bibles, despite their association with heresy. See also Hudson, *Lollards and Their Books*, 76–84; and Copeland, *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent*.
- 36 Passavanti, *Specchio della vera penitenza*, 229–30: ‘E così ogni uomo se ne fa sponitore. Con ciò sia cosa che a volerla bene volgarizzare converrebbe che l’autore fusse molto sufficiente non pure in gramatica, ma egli converrebbe bene sapere teologia e delle scritture sante avere esperte notizie, ed essere rettorico e essercitato nel parlare volgare e avere sentimento di Dio e spirito di santa divozione: altrimenti molti difetti vi si commettono e sono già commessi. E sarebbe molto necessario che si vietasse che non si volgarizzano più e quegli che sono volgarizzati si correggessono per persona che ‘l sapesse ben fare.’ See also Leonardi, ‘A volerla bene volgarizzare’.
- 37 Passavanti, *Specchio della vera penitenza*, 229–30: ‘In certi libri della Scrittura e de’ Dottori, che sono volgarizzati, si puote leggere, ma con buona cautela; imperocché si trovano molto falsi e corrotti, e per difetto degli scrittori, che non sono comunemente bene intendenti, e per difetto de’ volgarizzatori, i quali i passi forte della Scrittura Santa e’ detti de’ Santi sottili et oscuri non intendendo, non gli spongono secondo l’intimo e spirituale intendimento; ma solamente la scorza di fuori della lettera, secondo la gramatica, e perché il nostro volgare ha difetto di propj vocaboli, spesse volte rozzamente e grossamente, e molte volte non veramente la spongono.’
- 38 Prologue to the *Vangeli volgari* in Riccard., ms. R 1787, cited in Barbieri, ‘Domenico Cavalca volgarizzatore degli *Acta Apostolorum*’, 323: ‘Priego ogni uomo che questo libro de’ Vangeli volgareçcati vorrà trascrivere, che guardi di conservare il parlare a littera secondo che truova iscritto, e no.llo vada mutando, però che piccola silaba e piccolo articolo come sono *lo, la – lo profeta, la scriptura* e così fatte dictioni e parole e silabe – ànno molto ad variare la sententia più che altri non crede, ponendovele o levandonele. E non basta la sola gramatica ad volgareçcare, ma si richiede la teologia e spositione de’ santi dottori: però addunque vi diciamo tutto questo acciò che lla fatica non sia perduta.’
- 39 Minnis and Scott (eds.), *Medieval Literary Theory*, 374. Leonardi, ‘A volerla bene volgarizzare’. Pollidori, ‘La glossa come tecnica di traduzione’.
- 40 Contini, ‘Un manoscritto ferrarese di scritture popolareggianti’, 296–8. Novati, ‘Il pater noster dei lombardi’.

- 41 Delcorno, 'Produzione e circolazione', 7.
- 42 Briggs, 'Teaching Philosophy'; Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*. Bono Giamboni's *Libro de' vizî e delle virtudi* is also full of translated citations from the Gospel ('onde dice santo Luca nel Vangelio'); Barbieri, 'Panorama delle traduzioni bibliche in volgare'; Vasoli, 'Arte della memoria e predicazione'.
- 43 Bolzoni, *Rete delle immagini*, 12.
- 44 Recently, Mulchahey ('Education in Dante's Florence Revisited') has argued from examination of monastery archives that only theology, and not philosophy, comprised the curriculum at Santa Maria Novella.
- 45 Delcorno, 'Predicazione volgare e volgarizzamenti', 680.
- 46 Bolzoni, *Rete delle immagini*, 105.
- 47 Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino*, 13: 'La carità si è forma ne l'anima. Forma forse non intendete son queste alcun modo di forma, ma forma chiamano i savi quella virtù ch'è in tutte le cose, per la quale tutte l'operazioni si fanno.' Bolzoni, *Rete delle immagini*, 14.
- 48 Cavalca, *I frutti della lingua*, cap. xxviii; Delcorno, 'Predicazione volgare e volgarizzamenti', 683; 'rifiutandosi di predicare gli esempi e li miracoli delli santi, dicendo che sono cose da fanciulli e da femmine, non pensando che a mutare li cuori delli peccatori queste cose sono più utili'.
- 49 Cavalca, *Disciplina degli spirituali*, 40; Bolzoni, *Rete delle immagini*, 14: 'Quelli che si gloriano di essere tenuti e reputati spesse volte lasciano di predicare le cose utili e necessarie, e vanno predicando sottigliezze, novitati e loro filosofie, le quali non solamente non giovano agli uditori, ma piuttosto gli mettono in questione e in errore, e i vizii, i quali erano da tagliare e da curare, non toccano.'
- 50 Bolzoni, *Rete delle immagini*, 14: 'E posto che ciò sia repressibile ne' letterati e scienziati uomini, molto più tuttavia è da riprendere in alcuni idioti superbi, i quali non sapendo pur fare alcun'arte manuale, presumono di parlare e di contendere della profondità delle Scritture.'
- 51 Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino*, 140–1: 'Grande pericolo ad avere l'uomo ad ammaestrare altrui! Ma sommo si è ad ammaestrare ne la Scrittura Santa, nelle pistole, ne' vangeli, perciò che in ciò s'appartiene la salute e la perdizione. Sono molti i matti, calzolauiuoli, pillicciaiuoli, e vorrassi fare disponente de la Scrittura Santa. Grande ardimento è, troppo è grave offendimento il loro! E se questo è negli uomini, si è nelle femine maggiormente, però che le femine sono troppo più di lungi che l'uomo da le Scritture e da la lettera; e trovansi di quelle che ssi ne fanno sponitori de la pistola e del vangelo. Grande è la follia loro, troppo è la loro scipidezza.'
- 52 Delcorno, 'Predicazione volgare e volgarizzamenti', 684.
- 53 Giordano da Pisa, sermon of 24 August 1304, in Cavalca, *Cinque vite*, 69n: 'Or così vole lddio barattare con noi, ma nel baratto che noi facciamo con lui noi lo 'nganniamo troppo . . . Or che ài tu del mondo, et quanto ne dai tu? È nulla, et però questo è baratto avventuroso: diamo nulla et avemo tanta gloria, diamo angoscia et avemo pace, diamo amaritudine et pena et sollicitudine et avemo somma requie. Or questo è buono baratto!'

- 54 *Ibid.*: 'ché diede le cative cose e le vili per avere le migliori, diede i diletti mondani per avere gli eternali'.
- 55 Cavalca, 'Vita di Antonio', in *Cinque Vite*, 109: 'In questa presente vita sono iguali i prezzi colle derrate; che veggiamo che chi vuole comprare alcuna cosa, non ne dà più che gli paia che vaglia; ma non avviene così del regno del cielo, perciocché per la larghezza di Dio riceve l'uomo premio e gaudium infinito di servizio di poco tempo.' Latin text: Athanasius, 'Vita Beati Antonii Abbatis', 135: 'In praesenti hac vita aequalia sunt pro rerum commutatione commercia, nec majora recipit ab emente qui vendit. Promissio autem vitae sempiternae vili pretio comparatur.'
- 56 Cavalca, *Volgarizzamento del Dialogo di San Gregorio*, 27–8: 'Perciocchè, come dice S. Paolo, debitore sono alli savj ed alli semplici; e perchè, come religioso di povertà, vivo delle lemosine di ciascuno; vedendomi non poter esser utile alli semplici, e alli letterati per lo mio poco senno; e non potere pagare questo debito alli savj, perchè sono povero di scienza: avevami pensato, acciocche nel cospetto di Dio non fossi al tutto appresentato inutile; per utilità almeno d' alquanti idioti, e non savj di scienza, recare in volgare il Dialogo di S. Gregorio, lo quale in fra le altre opere devote singolarmente è utile.'
- 57 *Ibid.*, 28: 'Ma volendo incominciare, trovai il suo latino in tal modo dettato per grammatica, che non mi pare di poter seguitare al tutto l'ordine della lettera; perciocché tal cosa pare ben detta per grammatica, che ridotta in volgare secondo l'ordine delle parole non pare niente, e meno utile.'
- 58 *Ibid.*, 28: 'Ed alcuna volta una piccola parola per grammatica è di tanta significazione, che non se ne può trarre intendimento se non per molte parole; ed alcuna altra volta per fare bel dettato si pongono molte parole; e volendo recare a volgare intendimento, si possono e debbono molto abbreviare per trarne più bella sentenza.'
- 59 *Ibid.*, 28–9: 'Onde avvegnachè mi sia faticoso per lo mio poco intendimento, tuttavia lo meglio che so e più attamente recherò in volgare il predetto libro, non seguitando al tutto l'ordine delle parole; ma al meglio che io posso, ponendo almeno la sentenza, e l'intendimento del libro, e sforzandomi di seguitare le parole dove convenevolmente potrò.'
- 60 *Ibid.*, 29: 'Ed a ciò mi conforta molto S. Gregorio medesimo, e induce per suo esempio, il quale dice nella fine del suo Prolago di questo Libro, che non intende di seguire l'ordine delle parole a lui dette, ma di trarne la sentenza per modo, che più piaccia.'
- 61 Gregorius, *Dialogorum Libri IV*, 153: 'Ea quae mihi sunt virorum venerabilium narratione comperta, incunctanter narro sacrae auctoritatis exemplo, cum mihi luce clarius constet quia Marcus et Lucas Evangelium quod scripserunt, non visu, sed auditu didicerunt. Sed ut dubitationis occasionem legentibus subtraham, per singula quae describo, quibus haec auctoribus mihi comperta sint manifesto. Hoc vero scire te cupio, quia in quibusdam sensum solummodo, in quibusdam vero et verba cum sensu teneo; quia si de personis

omnibus ipsa specialiter verba tenere voluisssem, haec rusticano usu prolata stylus scribentis non apte susciperet.’ English translation (*Dialogues*) by Zimmerman, 6.

- 62 Cavalca, *Volgarizzamento del Dialogo di San Gregorio*, 29: ‘E se trova alcuno difetto o in sentenza o in volgare, dia la colpa a la grossezza del mio intelletto e de la mia lingua, e corregga o faccia coreggere tal difetto con carità.’
- 63 De Luca (ed.), *Prosatori minori del Trecento*, 3: ‘E del non potere e del non sapere bene dichiarare, me n’accuso; però che de’ vocabboli volgari ne so’ ignorante, però ch’io gli ho poco usati.’
- 64 For the history of Spiritual Franciscans, see Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*; Ceruti, *La scala del Paradiso*; Gribomont, ‘La Scala Paradisi’, 353. See also Zamponi, ‘Manoscritti in volgare nei conventi dei frati Minori’.
- 65 De Luca (ed.), *Prosatori minori del Trecento*, 3: ‘e ancora però che le cose spirituali e alte non si possono così propriamente esprimere per parole volgari come si fa in latino e per gramatica, per la penuria de’ vocabboli volgari: imperò che ogni contrada ha suoi proprii vocabboli volgari, diversi da quegli delle altre terre e contrade; ma della gramatica e del latino non è così’.
- 66 Vatican, ms. Barb. lat. 3970, fols. 1a-1b. De Luca (ed.), *Prosatori minori del Trecento*, 4: ‘però che i libri in volgare comunemente sono usati da persone idiote e senza gramatica, e a posta di quegli da’ valenti uomini volgarizzati; e tra gli altri, questo è molto disiderato da persone devote e spirituali. Et essendomene venuti molti in questa Toscana alle mani, per difetto d’ignoranti scrittori gli ho trovati molto guasti, e ne’ vocabboli male intesi, et essere stato confuse le chiose insieme col testo, senza alcuno segno; la qual cosa rèpoto grande difetto, benché da ’gnoranza sia proceduto.’
- 67 De Luca (ed.), *Prosatori minori del Trecento*, 4: ‘E acciò che i difetti non voluntarii ch’io ci ho commessi si cognoscano, e con mia licenzia da chi più sa sienne corretti, a tutte le chiose ch’io ci ho aggiunte, di rimpetto a quelle, nelle imargini del libro ho fatto di cinnaprio un c pontato, sicché il testo e le chiose antiche stanno in loro libertà.’
- 68 Pollidori, ‘La glossa come tecnica di traduzione’, 99: ‘acciò che ssi conosca quella [parola o paraula] che sta nel testo, e quella che no’.
- 69 ‘Vita di Maria Egiziaca’, ch. 2, par. 44, in *Cinque vite*, 207: ‘ma mio cibo e mio vestimento è la parola di Dio. E veramente pruovo che, come disse Cristo, “Non in solo pane vive l’uomo, ma in ogni parola, che procede dalla bocca di Dio.” E incominciogli ad allegare la Scrittura, volendogli provare che chi è spogliato del vestimento delle iniquitadi è ben vestito e difeso da Dio.’
- 70 Sophronius, ‘Vitae Sanctae Mariae Aegyptiacae’, 65: ‘Nutrior autem et cooperior tegmine verbi Dei, qui continet omnia (*Deut. VIII*). Non enim in solo pane vivit homo (*Matth. III*), et non habentes operimentum petrae circumdati sunt tegmine hi qui se peccati expoliaverunt tunica (*Job XXIV, juxta LXX*).’

- 71 'Vita di Maria Egiziaca', ch. 2, par. 45, in *Cinque vite*, 207–8: 'E vedendo Zozimo ch'ella gli allegava la Scrittura, maravigliossi, e dimandandola disse: – Or mi dì sai tu leggere? o hai tu avuti libri di Profeti e de' Salmi?' Barbieri, 'Domenico Cavalca volgarizzatore degli *Actua Apostolorum*', 291–328.
- 72 Sophronius, 'Vita Sanctae Mariae di Aegyptiacae', 685: 'Audiens autem Zosimas quoniam Scripturarum testimonia proferebat ex libris Moysi videlicet et beati Job sive Psalmorum, dixit ad eam: Psalmos, o mater, didicisti, vel alios libros sacrae Scripturae legisti? Illa autem hoc audiens, subridens dixit ad eum: Crede mihi, non vidi hominem ex quo Jordanem transivi, nisi te hodie: sed neque feram aut aliud animal quaecunque, ex quo in hanc deveni solitudinem. Litteras autem nunquam alicubi didici, sed neque psallentem aut legentem aliquem auscultavi. Sermo autem Dei vivus et efficax intellectum intrinsecus docet humanum.'
- 73 'Vita di Maria Egiziaca', ch. 2, par. 46, in *Cinque vite*, pp. 207–8: 'E quella rispuose: "Credimi, uomo di Dio, che poiché io entrai in questo deserto, non vidi né bestia né altro animale né uomo altri che te, e mai libro non ebbi, né lessi, e mai lettera non impresi da uomo; ma il Figliuolo di Dio vivo m'ha insegnato, lo quale a tutti può insegnare sapienza."'
- 74 'Vita di Antonio', ch. 1, par. 6 in *Cinque vite*, p. 97: 'avvenne che entrò nella ecclesia per udire la messa. E come piacque a Dio, avvenne che si lesse quello evangelio, lo quale narra come Cristo disse a uno giovane ricco "Se tu vuogli essere perfetto, va' a vendi ogni cosa che tu hai, e dallo ai poveri, e vieni dipo me e seguitami, e averai tesoro in cielo."'
- 75 *Ibid.*, ch. 16, par. 2–3, in *Cinque vite*, 139–40: 'Una fiata due filosafi pagani, udendo che Antonio era uomo senza lettera e parlava neentemeno sottilmente, e faceva e diceva grandi cose, credendosi poterlo vincere per parole e argomenti filosofichi, vennero a lui a tentarlo di parole. Li quali Antonio vedendo, pur alla vista conobbe che erano pagani, e perché non erano di sua lingua parlò loro per interpretre.'
- 76 *Ibid.*, par. 3–4, in *Cinque vite*, 140: "Perché così savî uomini sono venuti a veder uno stolto e idiota per sì lunga via e per cotanta fatica?" E rispondendo quelli, che non lo reputavano stolto, ma savio, disse: "Se reputandommi stolto avete durata tanta fatica per venirci, vana è la vostra venuta, e se savio mi reputate, conciosiacosaché la sapienza sia grande bene, e le buone cose debbia l'uomo ragionevolmente seguitare, seguitate la mia vita e la mia dottrina."'
- 77 Athanasius, 'Vita Beati Antonii Abbatis', 158: 'Quare tam longe ad stultum hominem sapientes se vexare voluerunt?' For dittologies in *volgarizzamenti* in general, see Segre, 'I volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento', in Segre, *Lingua, stile e società*, 61–3. For a study of the phenomenon in French, Buridant, 'Les Bînomes synonymiques'.
- 78 Cavalca, *Volgarizzamento del Dialogo di San Gregorio*, 27–8.
- 79 Athanasius, 'Vita Beati Antonii Abbatis', 158.

- 80 'Vita di Antonio', ch. 16, par. 6–7, in *Cinque vite*, 140: "Risponderetemi", disse loro, "qual fu in prima, o lo 'ntelletto razionale o la scrittura, e qual fu cagione e principio l'uno dell'altro, o la ragione della scrittura, o la scrittura della ragione?" E rispondendo quelli che la ragione e 'l senno umano fu in prima, e fece la scrittura, disse Antonio: "Dunque quegli, la cui ragione è pura e chiara, non ha bisogno di scritture."
- 81 Dante, *Vita nova* 16.8, p. 152.
- 82 Dante, *Convivio* II.I.3–8.
- 83 Cooper, 'Miraculous Translation'.
- 84 Berengario di Donadio, *Life of Saint Clare*, 31.
- 85 *Ibid.*, 71.
- 86 *Acta Sanctorum*, Aprilis III, Dies 30, cap. VII, 881: 'Antequam de oratione surgeret, ita divinitus est edocta, quod postquam ab ipsa surrexit, omnem scivit litteram legere, tam velociter et expedite, sicut quicumque doctissimus [like a learned man]. Quod ego ipse dum fui expertus, stupebam: potissime propter hoc, quod inveni, quia cum velocissime legeret, si jubebatur syllabificare, in nullo sciebat aliquid dicere: imo vix litteras cognoscebat: quod aestimo pro signo miraculi ordinatum a Domino tunc fuisse.' On Hildegard of Bingen's gift of tongues, see Schnapp, 'Virgin Words'.
- 87 Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*, 11–13.
- 88 Black, *Humanism and Education*, 41; Black, 'The Vernacular and the Teaching of Latin'.
- 89 Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*, 14.
- 90 Luongo, 'Saintly Authorship', 12–13.
- 91 Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*, 101–2.
- 92 In Webb (ed.) *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy*, 133 and 106. Cf. Tylus, *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena*, 114.
- 93 Giordano da Pisa, *Prediche del beato Fra Giordano*, 28 August 1304, vol. II, p. 17: 'Io voglio che voi sappiate, disse frate Giordano, che non si confà a noi di stare tra voi in cittade perocché i monaci, che noi siamo tutti monaci, deono stare fuori delle cittadi, ai deserti, ai luoghi solitarii a contemplare Iddio. Non è convenevole cosa a noi lo stallo qui, ma è proveduto per lo meglio che noi stiamo qui tra voi, acciocché noi v'atiamo ... Ben ce ne impolveriamo noi alquanto ... ma tutto questo facciamo pur per lo vostro meglio.' Cf. Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare*, 43.
- 94 Giordano, *Quaresimale fiorentino*, 33: 'il nostro movimento è pur per voi, cerchiamo la cittade e andiamo predicando pur per voi, per darvi la pace e per farvine partefici. Molto più volentieri ci staremmo in cella e non usciremmo fuori, e più riposo n'avemo, troppo più. E disse egli: io vorrei volentieri starmi ora in cella parecchie anni, e non uscire fuori, e sarebbemi molto a grado e molto utile.'
- 95 *Ibid.*, 40–1: 'Questo deserto può essere la cella tua, la casa tua: fa' tu che ttu fughhi il mondo e la gente. Di questo ti dà exemplo Cristo, e però quegli che vogliono campare è mistieri che tutti escano del mondo o andandosine al deserto o a la religione o fuggendo la gente in cheunque modo puoi.'

- 96 Boccaccio, *Decameron*, 1.1, p. 32: 'da' prieghi di coloro impetrata che, sì come noi siamo, furon mortali, e bene i suoi piaceri mentre furono in vita seguendo ora con lui eterni sono divenuti e beati; alli quali noi medesimi, sì come a procuratori informati per esperienza della nostra fragilità'.
- 97 Fido, 'The Tale of Ser Ciappelletto'; Croce, 'Boccaccio e Franco Sacchetti'; Russo, *Lecture critiche del Decameron*, 51–68; Getto, *Vita di forme e forme di vita nel Decameron*, 34–77; Padoan, *Il Boccaccio, le muse, il Parnaso e l'Arno*, 55–9; Mazzotta, 'The Marginality of Literature'; Marcus, *An Allegory of Form*, 11–26.
- 98 Boccaccio, *Decameron* 1.1, p. 34: 'E la cagione del dubbio era il sentire li borgognoni uomini riottosi e di mala condizione e misleali; e a lui non andava per la memoria chi tanto malvagio uom fosse, in cui egli potesse alcuna fidanza avere, che opporre alla loro malvagità si potesse.'
- 99 *Ibid.*, 33: 'avvien forse tal volta che, da opinione ingannati, tale dinanzi alla sua maestà facciamo procuratore che da quella con eterno essilio è iscacciato: e nondimeno Esso, al quale niuna cosa è occulta, più alla purità del pregator riguardando che alla sua ignoranza o allo essilio del pregato, così come se quegli fosse nel suo conspetto beato, essaudisce coloro che 'l priegano'.
- 100 *Ibid.*, p. 46: 'E in tanto crebbe la fama della sua santità e divozione a lui, che quasi niuno era che in alcuna avversità fosse, che ad altro santo che a lui si botasse, e chiamaronlo e chiamano san Ciappelletto; e affermano molti miracoli Idio aver mostrati per lui e mostrare tutto giorno a chi divotamente si raccomanda a lui.'
- 101 *Ibid.*, pp. 46–7: 'Il quale negar non voglio esser possibile lui esser beato nella presenza di Dio, per ciò che, come che la sua vita fosse scellerata e malvagia, egli poté in su lo stremo aver sì fatta contrizione, che per avventura Idio ebbe misericordia di lui e nel suo regno il ricevette: ma per ciò che questo n'è occulto, secondo quello che ne può apparire ragione, e dico costui più tosto dovere essere nelle mani del diavolo in perdizione che in Paradiso.'
- 102 *Ibid.*, p. 35: 'e quivi fuori di sua natura benignamente e mansuetamente cominciò a voler riscuotere e fare quello per che andato v'era'.
- 103 *Ibid.*, p. 34: 'Invitato a uno omicidio o qualunque altra rea cosa, senza negarlo mai, volonterosamente v'andava.'
- 104 Smarr, *Boccaccio and Fiammetta*; Usher, 'Boccaccio on Readers'; Bruni, *Boccaccio: L'invenzione della letteratura mezzana*.
- 105 Hollander, *Boccaccio's Dante*, 21–52; Usher, 'A "ser" Cepparello constructed from Dante fragments'.
- 106 Boccaccio, *Decameron* 1.1, pp. 33–4: 'un ser Cepparello da Prato, il quale molto alla sua casa in Parigi si riparava; il quale, per ciò che piccolo di persona era e molto assettatuzzo, non sappiendo li franceschi che si volesse dir Cepparello, credendo che "cappello", cioè "ghirlanda" secondo il lor volgare a dir venisse, per ciò che piccolo era come dicemmo, non Ciappello



ma Ciappelletto il chiamavano: e per Ciappelletto era conosciuto per tutto, là dove pochi per ser Cepperello il conoscono’.

# 5 THE TREASURE OF THE TRANSLATOR

- 1 Cavalca, *I frutti della lingua*, ch. 25, p. 197: ‘E se pur predicano, non vogliono predicare se non a gran popolo, ed a onorabili persone e letterate, per mostrare la scienza loro più che per insegnare la via di Dio. Questi, come dice san Paolo, sono adulteri della parola di Dio in ciò, che, come dice san Gregorio, il seme del verbo di Dio non spargono per generare figliuoli spirituali a Dio, ma per averne gloria o guadagno per sè temporalmente.’ A similar passage can be found at ch. 28, p. 234: ‘La terza cosa che si richiede a degnamente predicare, si è diritta intenzione, cioè, che semplicemente per Dio, e per procurare la salute delli prossimi per carità l’uomo predichi, non per vanità, nè per vanagloria, o per avarizia, o per altre non buone cagioni, come fanno molti, delli quali di sopra è detto, che sono adulteri del verbo di Dio, cioè, che non lo spargono per guadagnare e generare figliuoli spirituali a Dio, ma per guadagnare danar, o per vanagloria, o per altre male cagioni.’ The *Frutti della lingua* are a sequel to the *Pungilingua* in which Cavalca claims his intent is to ‘recare a comune volgare’ the ‘Somma de vizj di fra Guglielmo di Francia dell’Ordine dei Frati Predicatori’. See Casagrande and Vecchio, *I peccati della lingua*, 133.
- 2 Cavalca, *I frutti della lingua*, ch. 27, p. 232.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 229: ‘come dice santo Agostino, molti santi stessono e fussono perfetti nel deserto, quantunque idioti, pur nientedimeno ad insegnare ad altrui fa bisogno che l’uomo sia di sufficiente scienza’.
- 4 *Ibid.*, ch. 16, p. III.
- 5 Dante, *Convivio* 1.10.14–1.11.21: ‘perché più notevole sia la loro infamia. A perpetuale infamia e depressione de li malvagi uomini d’Italia, che commendano lo volgare altrui e lo loro proprio dispregiano. . . . La terza setta contra nostro volgare si fa per cupiditate di vanagloria . . . e tutti questi cotali sono li abominevoli cattivi d’Italia che hanno a vile questo prezioso volgare, lo quale, s’è vile in alcuna [cosa], non è se non in quanto elli suona ne la bocca meretrice di questi adulteri.’ For a recent literary understanding of Brunetto’s sodomy in connection with medieval French didactic literature, see Rossi, ‘Messer Burnetto e la “Rose”’.
- 6 Dante, *Convivio* 1.13.12. See Barański, ‘Sole nuovo, luce nuova’, 54.
- 7 Benjamin, ‘The Task of the Translator’, 69. See also de Man, ‘Conclusions’.
- 8 Benjamin, ‘The Task of the Translator’, 70–7. De Man (‘Conclusions’, 25) is perplexed as to why the translators of Benjamin’s essay unanimously understand the German word *Wehe* as, in particular, birth pangs. For Dante’s incarnational view of translation, ‘birth pangs’ is just right.
- 9 On Dante’s translations, see Groppi, *Dante as Translator*; Chiamenti, *Dante Alighieri traduttore*; Braidà, ‘Dante and Translation’; Barański and Boyde (eds.), *The Fiore in Context*.

- 10 As Chiamenti (*Dante Alighieri traduttore*, 201) points out. Dante, *Convivio* 2.14.7.
- 11 Dante, *Convivio* 1.7.13–4: ‘Anche, lo latino l’averebbe espote a gente d’altra lingua, sì come a Tedeschi e Inghilesi e altri, e qui averebbe passato lo loro comandamento; ché contra loro volere, largo parlando dico, sarebbe, essere espota la loro sentenza colà dov’elle non la potessero con la loro bellezza portare.’ For Dino del Garbo, see Bird, ‘The Canzone d’Amore’; and Cornish, ‘A Lady Asks’.
- 12 Dante, *Convivio* 1.7.14–15: ‘E però sappia ciascuno che nulla cosa per legame musaico armonizzata si può de la sua loquela in altra transmutare, senza rompere tutta sua dolcezza e armonia. E questa è la cagione per che Omero non si mutò di greco in latino, come l’altre scritture che avemo da loro. E questa è la cagione per che li versi del Salterio sono senza dolcezza di musica e d’armonia; ché essi furono transmutati d’ebreo in greco e di greco in latino, e ne la prima transmutazione tutta quella dolcezza venne meno.’
- 13 Jerome prefaces his translation and continuation of Eusebius with the observation that learned men, such as Cicero, are in the habit of practising translation. Saint Jerome, *Chronique*, 56–7: ‘Inde adeo venit ut Sacrae litterae minus compta et sonantes videantur, quod disertis homines interpretatas eas de Hebraeo nescientes, dum superficiem, non medullam inspiciunt, ante quasi uestem orationis sordidam perhorrescant quam pulchrum intrinsecus rerum corpus inueniant. Denique quid psalterio canorius, quod in morem nostri Flacci et Graeci Pindari nunc iambo currit, nunc Alcaico personat, nunc Sappho tumet, nunc senipede ingreditur ... Quodsi cui non uideatur linguae gratiam interpretatione mutari, Homerum ad uerbum exprimat in Latinum, – plus aliquid dicam – eundem in sua lingua prosae uerbis interpretetur: uidebit ordinem ridiculum et poetam eloquentissimum uix loquentem.’
- 14 Dante, *Convivio* 1.10.12–13: ‘La sua virtù ... [la quale non si potea bene manifestare] ne le cose rimate, per le accidentali adornezze che quivi sono connesse, cioè la rima e lo ri[ti]mo e lo numero regolato: sì come non si può bene manifestare la bellezza d’una donna, quando li adornamenti de l’azzimare e de le vestimenta la fanno più ammirare che essa medesima. Onde chi vuole ben giudicare d’una donna, guardi quella quando solo sua naturale bellezza si sta con lei, da tutto accidentale adornamento discompagnata: sì come sarà questo commento ...’ Albert Ascoli (*Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, 211–12) sees this passage as reintroducing the real audacity of the work, which is to propose his own vernacular love poems as worthy of philosophical commentary.
- 15 Dante, *Convivio* 1.10.13: ‘nel quale si vedrà l’agevolezza de le sue sillabe, le proprietadi de le sue co[st]ru[z]ioni e le soavi orazioni che di lui si fanno; le quali chi bene agguarderà, vedrà essere piene di dolcissima e d’amabilissima bellezza’.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 1.9.3: ‘E a vituperio di loro dico che non si deono chiamare litterati, però che non acquistano la lettera per lo suo uso, ma in quanto per quella

guadagnano denari o dignitate; sì come non si dee chiamare citarista chi tiene la cetera in casa per prestarla per prezzo, e non per usarla per sonare.’ The example of the citharist comes from Aristotle’s *Ethics* (II.i.1103a) and from Horace’s *Art of Poetry* (354–6), or rather from the commentary of Albertus Magnus on the *Ethics* who puts the two together. See Gentili, *L’uomo aristotelico*, 151–3.

- 17 Dante, *Convivio* 1.19.10: ‘Mossimi secondamente per gelosia di lui . . . Onde pensando che lo desiderio d’intendere queste canzoni, a alcuno illitterato avrebbe fatto lo comento latino transmutare in volgare, e temendo che ’l volgare non fosse stato posto per alcuno che l’avesse laido fatto parere, come fece quelli che transmutò lo latino de l’Etica – ciò fu Taddeo ipocratista –, providi a ponere lui, fidandomi di me più che d’un altro.’
- 18 Gentili, *L’uomo aristotelico*, 31–49; Marchesi, ‘Il compendio volgare dell’Etica’.
- 19 Dante, *Convivio* 1.9.4–5: ‘Dico che manifestamente si può vedere come lo latino averebbe a pochi dato lo suo beneficio, ma lo volgare servirà veramente a molti. Ché la bontà de l’animo, la quale questo servigio attende, è in coloro che per malvagia disusanza del mondo hanno lasciata la litteratura a coloro che l’hanno fatta di donna meretrice; e questi nobili sono principi, baroni, cavalieri e molt’altra nobile gente, non solamente maschi ma femmine, che sono molti e molte in questa lingua, volgari, e non litterati.’ In his introduction to the *Convivio* (15), Enrico Fenzi defines the multitude as all those involved in the discourse of the *bene comune*.
- 20 Dante, *Convivio* 1.9.6: ‘Ancora, non sarebbe lo latino stato datore d’utile dono, che sarà lo volgare. Però che nulla cosa é utile, se non in quanto è usata, né è la sua bontade in potenza, che non è essere perfettamente; sì come l’oro, le margarite e li altri tesori che sono sotterrati [possible lacuna in the text]; però che quelli che sono a mano de l’avaro sono in più basso loco che non è la terra là dove lo tesoro è nascosto.’
- 21 Aristotle, *Ethics*, IV.i.1120a, 8–9: ‘Usus autem esse videtur pecuniarum consumpcio et dacio, accepcio autem et custodia possessio magis.’ Commentary of Thomas Aquinas, *In Decem Libros Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum Expositio*, IV, lect. i, 659: ‘et dicit quod usus consistit in emissionem eius [of riches]; quae quidem fit per sumptus expensarum et per dationes. Et accipere vel custodire pecunias non est uti pecuniis, sed est possidere eas.’ Both cited by Vasoli and De Robertis, in their edition of *Convivio*, 62n.
- 22 Latini, *Il tesoretto*, lines 74–82: ‘Poi vi presento e mando / questo ricco Tesoro, / che vale argento ed oro: / sì ch’io non ho trovato / omo di carne nato / che sia degno d’avere, / né quasi di vedere, / lo scritto ch’io vi mostro / i.llettere d’inchiostro’.
- 23 Vatican, ms. Chigi. L.vi.210, f. 1r col. I. See Mascheroni, ‘I codici del volgarizzamento italiano del *Tresor*’, 491.
- 24 Dante, *Inferno* 15.30. Hawkins, “Are You here?” For the debate on Brunetto’s imputed homosexuality, see Pquigney, ‘Sodom in Dante’s *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*’; Holsinger, ‘Sodom and Resurrection’; Armour, ‘Brunetto, the

- Stoic Pessimist'; Kay, 'The Sin(s) of Brunetto Latini'; Boswell, 'Dante and the Sodomites'; Martinez, 'Dante and Brunetto Latini'; Durling, 'Dante and Homosexuality'; Cestaro, 'Queering Nature'.
- 25 Dante, *Inferno* 15.82–5: 'ché 'n la mente m'è fitta, e or m'accora, / la cara e buona imagine paterna / di voi quando nel mondo ad ora ad ora / m'insegnavate come l'uom s'eterna'.
- 26 For the *Tesoro*, see Gaiter's edition; Mussafia, 'Sul testo del *Tesoro*'; Beltrami, 'Appunti su vicende del *Tesoro*'. The attribution of the translation to Bono Giamboni, mentioned only in one manuscript, is no longer accepted. Beltrami thinks authorship by Latini himself unlikely. See also D'Agostino, 'Itinerari', 560; Ciccuto, '*Tesoro* di Brunetto Latini'.
- 27 Latini, *Tesoro* II.4: 'La tierce partie dou tresor est de fin or, c'est a dire que ele enseigne a home parler selonc la doctrine de rethorique, et coment li sires doit gouverner les genz qui souz lui sont, meesmement selonc les usaiges ytaliens; et tout ce apartient a la seconde science de philosophie, c'est pratique. Car si come l'or sermonte toutes manieres de metals, autresi est la science de bien parler et de gouverner genz plus noble de nulle art dou monde.'
- 28 Dante, *Paradiso* 17.121. See Freccero, 'The Eternal Image'.
- 29 Dante, *Inferno* 15.58–60: 'e s'io non fossi sì per tempo morto, / veggendo il cielo a te così benigno, / dato t'avrei all'opera conforto'; *Par.* 17.127: 'Ma nondimen, rimossa ogni menzogna, / tutta tua vision fa manifesta; / e lascia pur grattar dov'è la rognà'.
- 30 Matthew 6:19–21 and Luke 12:33–34.
- 31 Saint Jerome, Epistle 22.30, 'Ad Eustochium', in *Correspondance*, 145: 'Cum ante annos plurimos domo, parentibus, sorore, cognatis et, quod his difficultus est, consuetudine lautioris cibi propter caelorum me regna castrassem et Hierosolymam militaturus pergerem, bibliotheca, quam mihi Romae summo studio ac labore confeceram, carere non poteram. Itaque miser ego lecturus Tullium ieiunabam. Post noctium crebras vigilias, post lacrimas, quas mihi praeteritorum recordatio peccatorum ex imis uisceribus eruebat, Plautus sumebatur in manibus. Si quando in memet reuersus prophetam legere coepissem, sermo horrebat incultus.' English translation by Fremantle, 35.
- 32 *Leggenda aurea*, 1238.
- 33 Cavalca, *Volgarizzamento del Dialogo*, 413: 'Tu menti per la gola, anzi se' discepolo di Cicerone, e non Cristiano; perciocchè qui dove è lo tesoro tuo, qui è lo core tuo, e in quello, che più tu ami, più studi.'
- 34 Cavalca, *Cinque vite*, 97: 'E come piacque a Dio, avvenne che si lesse quello evangelio, lo quale narra come Cristo disse a uno giovane ricco: "Se tu vuogli essere perfetto, va' e vendi ogni cosa che tu hai, e dallo ai poveri, e vieni dipo me e seguitami, e averai tesoro in cielo."'.
- 35 Augustine, *Confessionum* 8.7.17; 8.12.29, 124: 'multi mei anni mecum effluxerant – forte duodecim anni – ex quo ab undeicensimo anno aetatis meae lecto Ciceronis Hortensio excitatus eram studio sapientiae et differebam contempta felicitate terrena ad eam inuestigandam – uacare, cuius non

inuentio, sed uel sola inquisitio iam praeponenda erat etiam inuentis thesauris regnisque gentium et ad nutum circumfluentibus corporis uoluptatibus.’

- 36 *Ibid.*, 8.12.29. Translation from Bourke, 213: ‘Nihil aliud interpretans diuinitus mihi iuberi, nisi ut aperirem codicem et legerem quod primum caput inuenissem. Audieram enim de Antonio, quod ex euangelica lectione, cui forte superuenerat, admonitus fuerit, tamquam sibi diceretur quod legebatur: Vade, uende omnia, quae habes, da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelis; et ueni, sequere me.’
- 37 Latini, *Il tesoretto*, line 289.
- 38 Dante, *Paradiso* 15.118–20: ‘O fortunate! ciascuna era certa/ della sua sepultura, ed ancor nulla /era per Francia nel letto diserta’.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 15.28 and 88.
- 40 Schnapp, *The Transfiguration of History*, 218–19.
- 41 Dante, *Paradiso* 16.16–17.
- 42 Mazzotta (*Dante’s Vision*, 270 n4) remarks that the term *chiosar* is used in a technical sense, ‘as if to show his teacher his grasp of techniques of reader’.
- 43 For Brunetto’s co-authorial role, see below, Latini, *La retorica*, 4. Ascoli (*Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, 87) calls ‘the primary authorizing device of the *Convivio* ... Dante’s decision to treat his own vernacular *canzoni* as worthy of commentary, thus placing them, implicitly, in the formal position of *auctoritates* and himself in that of *auctor*’.
- 44 Freccero (‘The Eternal Image’) notes that similarly in the *Aeneid*, the prophecy that the Sybil was supposed to deliver is conveyed instead by Anchises in the other-world encounter that serves as the primary paradigm for Dante’s encounter with Cacciaguida. *Aeneid* 6.98–100: ‘Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla / horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit, / obscuris vera involvens’.
- 45 Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, 226.
- 46 Dante, *Paradiso* 15.28–30, 50–1. Chiamenti (*Dante Alighieri traduttore*, 22) calls Cacciaguida’s use of different languages an example of ‘pluriglossia paradisiaca’.
- 47 Dante, *Paradiso* 15.44–5: ‘che ’l parlar discese / inver’ lo segno del nostro intelletto’.
- 48 Dante, *Convivio* 1.5.7–9: ‘lo latino è perpetuo e non corruttibile, e lo volgare è non stabile e corruttibile. Onde vedemo ne le scritture antiche de le comedie e tragedie latine, che non si possono transmutare, quello medesimo che oggi avemo; che non avviene del volgare, lo quale a piacimento artificiato si transmuta. Onde vedemo ne le cittadi d’Italia, se bene volemò agguardare, da cinquanta anni in qua molti vocabuli essere spenti e nati e variati; onde se ’l picciol tempo così transmuta, molto più transmuta lo maggiore. Sì ch’io dico, che se coloro che partiron d’esta vita già son mille anni tornassero a le loro cittadi, crederebbero la loro cittade essere occupata da gente strana, per la lingua da loro discordante.’
- 49 Horace, *Ars poetica* 60–2, 70–2. See Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, 131. Dante, *Convivio* 11.13.10: ‘[La Gramatica] luce or di qua

or di là, in tanto quanto certi vocabuli, certe declinazioni, certe costruzioni sono in uso che già non furono, e molte già furono che ancor saranno: sì come dice Orazio nel principio del la Poetria, quando dice: “Molti vocabuli rinasceranno che già caddero”.’

- 50 Dante, *Vita nova* 16.4, p. 149.
- 51 Pézard, *Dante sous la pluie*. See also Vance, ‘The Differing Seed’.
- 52 Pézard, *Dante sous la pluie*, 302. Cited and translated by Vance, ‘The Differing Seed’, 241.
- 53 Dante, *Convivio* 1.11.21: ‘E tutti questi cotali sono li abominevoli cattivi d’Italia che hanno a vile questo prezioso volgare, lo quale, s’è vile in alcuna [cosa], non è se non in quanto elli suona ne la bocca meretrice di questi adulteri.’
- 54 Mazzotta, *Dante: Poet of the Desert*, 138–41; cf. Mazzotta, *Dante’s Vision*, 29–33, 174–6. See also Ascoli, *Ariosto’s Bitter Harmony*, 107–20; Barkan, *Transuming Passion*, 66.
- 55 Alessio, ‘Brunetto Latini e Cicerone’; G. Baldassarri, ‘*Accessus ad auctores nella Rettorica*’; Cox, ‘Ciceronian Rhetorical Theory’; Tanturli, ‘Continuità dell’umanesimo’; Holloway, *Twice-Told Tales*, and [www.florin.ms/brunetto-latino.html](http://www.florin.ms/brunetto-latino.html); Witt, ‘Brunetto Latini and the Italian Tradition of *Ars dictaminis*’; Segre, *La prosa del Duecento*, 132; Kay, ‘The Sin of Brunetto Latini’; Davis, ‘Brunetto Latini and Dante’; Mussafia, ‘Sul testo del *Tesoro* di Brunetto Latini’, in Sundby, *Della vita e delle opere di Brunetto Latini*.
- 56 Latini, *La rettorica*, 5: ‘L’autore di questa opera è doppio: uno che di tutti i detti de’ filosofi che fuoro davanti lui e dalla viva fonte del suo ingegno fece suo libro di rettorica, ciò fue Marco Tulio Cicero, il più sapientissimo de’ Romani. Il secondo è Brunetto Latino cittadino di Firenze, il quale mise tutto suo studio e suo intendimento ad isponere e chiarire ciò che Tulio avea detto.’
- 57 On Dante’s ambition to authority, see the authoritative Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*.
- 58 Latini, *La rettorica*, 7: ‘La cagione per che questo libro è fatto si è cotale, che questo Brunetto Latino, per cagione della guerra la quale fue tralle parti di Firenze, fue isbandito della terra quando la sua parte guelfa, la quale si tenea col papa e colla chiesa di Roma, fue cacciata e sbandita della terra. E poi si n’andò in Francia per procurare le sue vicende, e là trovò uno suo amico della sua cittade e della sua parte, molto ricco d’avere, ben costumato e pieno de grande senno, che lli fece molto onore e grande utilidade, e perciò l’appellava suo porto, sì come in molte parti di questo libro pare apertamente.’
- 59 *Purgatorio* 7.16; *Paradiso* 1.1: ‘La gloria di colui che tutto move’.
- 60 Gentili (*L’uomo aristotelico*, 51) notes that the ‘interested’ dedication to a single person had important classical models, such as the *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, etc., and cites Taddeo Alderotti’s dedication of his *Libello perconservare la sanità del corpo*: ‘E però, mosso ai prieghi d’alcuno mio amico, e anche per utilità comune d’ogni uomo, il quale vive a costume

delle bestie e per conservazione della santà e della vita, propuosi in me medesimo di ritrarre de' detti e de' libri degli antichi Filosafi questo libretto, . . . Ecco che scrivo a te, amico carissimo, acciocché tu desideri di conservare la tua vita in santà.'

- 61 Dante, *Convivio* 1.13.4: 'Questo mio volgare fu congiuntore de li miei generanti, che con esso parlavano.'
- 62 *Ibid.*, 1.1.2: 'vulgarem locutionem appellamus eam qua infantes assuefiunt ab assistantibus cum primitus distinguere voces incipiunt; vel, quod brevius dici potest, vulgarem locutionem asserimus quam sine omni regula nutricem imitantes accipimus'. See especially Cestaro, *Dante and the Grammar of the Nursing Body*.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 1.6.2: 'In hoc, sicut etiam in multis aliis, Petramala civitas amplissima est, et patria maiori parti filiorum Adam. Nam, quicunque tam obscene rationis est ut locum sue nationis delitiosissimum credat esse sub sole, hic etiam pre cunctis proprium vulgare licetur, idest maternam locutionem, et per consequens credit ipsum fuisse illud quod fuit Ade.' Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, 142.
- 64 Ascoli (*Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, 308) observes that Dante's character Virgilio is invested not only with the authority of the epic poem of which he is the author, but also a combination of 'the "epistemological" authority of philosophy with the institutional *auctoritas* of Empire, which in *Convivio* were explored in the juxtaposition of two other names, "Aristotile" and "Federico"'.  
 65 Dante, *DVE* 1.1.4; Grayson, 'Nobilior est vulgaris'.
- 66 Chiavacci Leonardi (Dante, *Commedia*, 646) calls it a 'not very perspicacious translation' in her commentary. Charles Singleton notoriously 'helped' Dante by putting a correct translation of the *Aeneid* in his facing-page English text, thereby rendering the passage even less comprehensible. As recently as 1996, Chiamenti (*Dante Alighieri traduttore*, 131–7) only hesitantly embraced the notion that the passage was intentional – an example of 'free translation'. The first commentator to suggest the mistranslation was deliberate was Francesco Buti. For a summary, see Hollander's note in Dante, *Purgatorio*, 464. See also Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, 319–20; Mazzotta, *Dante Poet of the Desert*, 221–4; Dante, *Inferno*, ed. Durling and Martinez, 373–4. For Niccoli's disdain in Leonardo Bruni's *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum*, see Chapter 6.
- 67 Dante, *Purgatorio* 22.67–9: 'Facesti come quei che va di notte, /che porta il lume dietro a sé non giova, / ma dopo sé fa le persone dotte'.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 20.130–2 and 20.19–21.
- 69 Freccero, 'Manfred's Wounds'; Mazzotta, *Dante: Poet of the Desert*, 193–226; Martinez, 'The Pilgrim's Answer to Bonagiunta'; Ginsberg, *Dante's Aesthetics of Being*; Cornish, 'Vulgarizing Science'; Shapiro, *Dante and the Knot*; Agamben, *Stanzas*.
- 70 For the medieval philosophical sources behind Dante's discussion, see Nardi, 'Sull'origine dell'anima umana', and Nardi, *Studi di filosofia medievale*, 9–68.

- 71 Romana Martorelli Vico in her edition of Mondino di Liuzzi's commentary on Avicenna also notes how that text lapses into the use of the vernacular in two places. She also gives a bibliography of other contemporary treatises on embryology, such as the one by Dino del Garbo, commentator on Cavalcanti's 'Donna me prega'.
- 72 Dante, *Convivio* 4.21.6.
- 73 Nardi, 'Sull'origine dell'anima umana', 281.
- 74 Dante, *Purgatorio* 3.39.
- 75 *Ibid.*, 26.55: 'non son rimase acerbe né mature / le membra mie di là, ma son qui meco / col sangue suo e con le sue giunture'.
- 76 *Ibid.*, 26.64: 'ditemi, acciò ch'ancor carte ne verghi'.
- 77 *Ibid.*, 26.94–5: 'Quali ne la tristizia di Ligurgo / si fer due figli a riveder la madre'.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 26.41, 82. For the different ethical organizations of *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, see Cogan, *The Design in Wax*.
- 79 Dante, *Purgatorio* 26.117: 'miglior fabbro del parlar materno'.
- 80 Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*, 96.
- 81 I have Wayne Rebhorn to thank for this insight.
- 82 Cristoforo Landino, *Disputationes camaldulenses*, cited by McLaughlin, 'Latin and vernacular', 622.
- 83 Barański ('Il Fiore e la tradizione delle *Translationes*') takes the affirmation of the character *Falsেম্বiante* in sonnet 103 as programmatic for the *Fiore*'s mutation of both content and form of the *Roman de la Rose* and suggests that the *Fiore* is a critique of the volgarizzamenti on their own turf.

#### 6 A NEW LIFE FOR TRANSLATION

- 1 Lancia's paternity of the transcription and glosses in BNF, ms. II.1.39 was established by Pomaro, 'Analisi codicologica'. For analysis, see Azzetta, 'Le chiose alla *Commedia* di Andrea Lancia'; and Azzetta, 'La tradizione del *Convivio*'.
- 2 De Medici, 'Le fonti dell'Ottimo commento'.
- 3 One among many citations of Dante in these Ovidian glosses. Lippi Bigazzi (ed.), *I volgarizzamenti trecenteschi dell' 'Ars Amandi'*, vol. II, 842: 'E vedi bene che 'l poeta non favella a' fabri, né a' calzolari, non ad artefici, però che non cadea nell'animo suo che il sartore, che il die tutto e le tre parte de la notte consuma per ricevere il pane la domenica, si vestisse la risparmiata roba e andasse a vagheggiare. Elli favella a li nobili e "amor ch'al cor gentil ratto s'apprende".' Lippi Bigazzi thinks Andrea Lancia is the 'scienziato maestro' referred to in one of the prologues to the *Arte d'amare* as the first *volgarizzatore*, whose work was added to by a 'scolaio rozzo' whom she thinks could be identified with Boccaccio. In support, see also Gorni, *Dante prima della Commedia*, 179–87. Azzetta ('Per la biografia di Andrea Lancia'), on the other hand, thinks that the glosses to the *Rimedi* are from before 1313 and therefore can be by neither Boccaccio nor Lancia.



- 4 The two *Eneidi* are contemporaneous and related. The new view, argued by Valerio ('La cronologia dei primi volgarizzamenti dell'*Eneide*'), is that Ciampolo consulted Andrea Lancia's shorter version rather than vice versa. See Parodi, 'I rifacimenti e le traduzioni italiane dell'*Eneide*'; Fanfani, 'Compilazione della *Eneide*'; and Folena, *Volgarizzare e tradurre*. The only complete manuscript of Ugurgieri's translation is Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, S.IV.II. For extracts of both translations, see Segre (ed.), *Volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento*, 565–627.
- 5 Folena (*Volgarizzare e tradurre*, 46 and 94n) calls these echoes of the *Convivio* 'precious' precisely because they offer the oldest trace of the circulation of a text whose other witnesses are all relatively late. See also Folena, 'La tradizione', 24. For an extract, see Segre (ed.), *Volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento*, 283–313; for the full text, see Salvatore (ed.), *Il Boezio*.
- 6 Ovid's *Heroides* are translated from a French version, but also from Latin by Filippo Ceffi around 1325 and transmitted in many manuscripts, of which one is in Ceffi's hand. The *Metamorphoses* received a prose version in the first half of the Trecento, and an allegorical reworking by Giovanni Bonsignori da Città di Castello around 1375. See his *Ovidio Metamorphoseos vulgare*, ed. Ardissono; and Guthmüller, *Ovidio Metamorphoseos vulgare*.
- 7 On the roughly contemporaneous partial Latin translations of the *Commedia* by Coluccio Salutati and Filippo Villani, see McLaughlin, 'Latin and Vernacular', 612–25.
- 8 Petrarca, *Seniles* 16.1, ed. Guglielminetti: 'quique Grecus ad me uenit, mea ope et impensa factus est Latinus, & nunc inter Latinos uolens mecum habitare'. See also Petrarca, *Letters of Old Age*, 603.
- 9 BnF, ms. Lat 7880; cited from Folena, *Volgarizzare e tradurre*, 52: 'videbit . . . poëtam eloquentissimum vix loquentem'. On Jerome's prologue to his version of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, see Chapter 5, and below.
- 10 For the assumption that European vernacularization accompanied and enabled the nation-state, see Pollock, 'Cosmopolitan and Vernacular', 592. Alfonso X of Spain and Charles V of France did embark on state-sponsored translation projects. See Hanna *et al.*, 'Latin Commentary Tradition'.
- 11 For a bibliography on Petrarch's translation of Boccaccio's *Griselda*, see Baldassarri, *Umanesimo e traduzione*, 31–3.
- 12 Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Politics*, 132–55; Campbell, 'Sexual Poetics'; Charlotte Morse, 'The Exemplary *Griselda*'; Ginsberg, *Chaucer's Italian Tradition*; Middleton, 'The Clerk and His Tale'; Wallace, "'Whan she translated was'".
- 13 *Seniles* 17.3, in Petrarca, '*De oboedientia et fixe uxoria in Seniles* (xvii, 3), 1373', 66: 1270–2: 'Librum tuum, quem nostro materno eloquio, ut oppinor, olim iuuenis edidisti'.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 94: 'Hanc historiam stilo nunc alio retexere visum fuit, non tam ideo ut matronas nostri temporis ad imitandum huius uxoris patientiam, que mihi vix imitabilis videtur, quam ut legentes ad imitandum saltem femine constantiam excitarem.'

- 15 *Ibid.*, 17.4, 96–102.
- 16 Morabito, 'Per un repertorio della diffusione europea della storia di Griselda'; Nardone and Lamarque (eds.), *L'Histoire de Griselda*.
- 17 Chaucer, *The Clerk's Tale*, line 29.
- 18 For Chaucer's contamination of the tale with a French translation, *Livre Griseldis*, see Johnson, 'Reincarnations of Griselda'.
- 19 For the exchange between Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio, see Dante, *Egloge*. For a recent discussion, see McLaughlin, 'Latin and Vernacular'.
- 20 Bruni, *Ad Petrum Paulum Histrum*, 68: 'nonne illum plerumque ita errantem videmus, ut videatur rerum omnium fuisse ignarum? Qui illa Virgilii verba: "Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames" (quae quidem verba nunquam alicui vel mediocriter quidem docto dubia fuere), quid sentirent apertissime ignoravit. Nam cum in avaritiam dicta essent, is tamquam prodigalitatem detestarentur accepit.' See also Bruni, *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Histrum*, English translation from Griffiths et al., *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, 73. For Statius' misunderstanding of Virgil's lines, see above, Chapter 5, 39–40; and Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, 83–7.
- 21 Bruni, *Ad Petrum Paulum Histrum*, 70: 'Nos vero non pudebit eum poetam appellare, et Virgilio etiam anteponere, qui latine loqui non possit? ... Quamobrem, Coluci, ego istum poetam tuum a concilio litteratorum seiungam atque eum lanariis, pistoribus atque eiusmodi turbae relinquam ... Petrarcham consideremus, quamquam non me fugit, quam periculoso in loco verser, ut mihi sit etiam universi populi impetus pertimescendus, quem isti tui praeclari vates nugis nescio quibus (neque enim aliter appellanda sunt, quae isti in vulgus legenda tradiderunt), devinctum habent.' On the proverb 'traduttore, traditore', see Jakobson, 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation'.
- 22 Domenico da Prato, 'Prefazione', in Lanza (ed.), *Polemiche*, 241: 'Ed altri di loro dicono il libro di Dante esser da dare alli speciali per farne cartocci, o vero più tosto alli pizzicagnoli per porvi dentro il pesce salato, perché vulgarmente scrisse.' Rinuccini, 'Invettiva contro a certi calunniatori', 264: 'Poi, per mostrarsi litteratissimi al vulgo, dicono che lo egregio e onore de' poeti Dante Alighieri essere suto poeta da calzolai.' For discussion of Rinuccini and Domenico da Prato in relation to Bruni, see Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, 87–91.
- 23 Rinuccini, 'Invettiva contro a certi calunniatori', 262: 'Per parere litteratissimi apresso al vulgo, gridano a piazza quanti dittonghi avevano gli antichi e perché oggi non se ne usano se non due; e qual gramtica sia migliore, o quella del tempo del comico Terrenzio o dell'eroico Vergilio ripulita; e quanti piedi usano gli antichi nel versificare, e perché oggi non s'usa l'anapesto di quattro brevi.'
- 24 *Ibid.*, 263–4: 'quanti libri compuose Tito Livio e perché e' non si truovano tutti ... affermando Valerio Massimo esser troppo breve e Tito Livio interrotto ... Le storie poetiche dicono essere favole da femmine e da fanciugli, e che il non meno dolce che utile recitatore di dette istorie, cioè messer Giovanni Boccaci, non seppe gramatica. E de' libri del coronato poeta

messer Francesco Petrarca si beffano, dicendo che quel “De viris illustribus” è un zibaldone da quaresima.’

- 25 *Ibid.*, 265: ‘Come l’attivo seme dell’uomo sopra il passivo sangue della donna caggia e d’animale sensibile divenga intellettuale ... Nel capitolo come d’animale divenga infante, ancora d’astrologia tanto leggiadramente descrive quanto a stile poetico si richiede.’
- 26 Tavoni, *Storia della lingua italiana*, 21.
- 27 For Donato degli Albanzani (1326–c.1411), see Porta, ‘Volgarizzamenti dal latino’, 594. The Tuscan *Itinerarium* has also been attributed to this friend of Petrarch: see Paoletta (ed.), *Volgarizzamento meridionale anonimo di Francesco Petrarca Itinerarium*. For the subsequent manuscript tradition of fourteenth-century works, see Gualdo and Palermo, ‘La prosa del Trecento’, 359–414; Branca, ‘Copisti per passione’, 69–83; Bec, *Les Marchands écrivains*.
- 28 Perosa, *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone*, vol. 1; and Kent, *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone*, vol. II. See also Formentin, ‘La prosa del Quattrocento’, 581–2.
- 29 Tanturli, ‘I Benci copisti’, 197–313.
- 30 Palmieri, *Vita civile*, 5: ‘Rivolto poi verso i mia carissimi cittadini, in me medesimo mi dolsi, molti vedendone che, disiderosi di bene et virtuosamente vivere, senza loro colpa, solo per non avere notizia della lingua latina, mancavano d’innumerabili precepti che molto arebbono giovato il loro buono proposito. Examinando quali auctori fussino atti a potere dare a’ volgari sufficiente notizia, ne trovai pochi da potere molto giovare alla vita de’ virtuosi, però che alquanti ne sono volgarizzati che in ne’ loro originali sono eleganti, sententiosi et gravi, scripti in latino, ma dalla ignoranza de’ volgarizzatori in modo corrotti, che molti ne sono da ridersene di quegli che in latino sono degnissimi. Et viepiù da ridere sarebbe di me, se io volessi dimostrare che Tullio, Livio o Virgilio et più altri volgarizzati auctori in niuna parte fussino simili a’ primi, però che non altrimenti gli somigliano che una figura ritratta dalla più perfecta di Jocto per mano di chi non avesse operato stile né pennello s’asomigliasse all’exemplo; ché, avenga Idio avessi naso, occhi, boca et tutti suoi membri, niente dimeno sare’ tanto diversa quanto ciascuno in se stesso imaginare puote, et forse, ritrahendo con l’ali Gabriello, nollo conosceresti dallo infernale Lucifero.’ For a recent discussion, see Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, 104–12.
- 31 Palmieri, *Vita civile*, 46: ‘Oggi in brevissimo tempo si vede molti con tale eleganza scrivere et dire in latino che in tutta la vita si tollerabilmente non si dicea pe’ maestri de’ nostri padri.’ Another lament of the merchants’ ignorance of Latin can be found in the 1460 prologue to his book on the merchants’ vocation, *Della mercatura et del mercante perfetto*. See Tavoni, *Storia della lingua italiana*, 21–2.
- 32 ‘Battista Guarino to Maffeo Gambara’, in Kallendorf (ed.), *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 294. On education in this period, see Black, *Humanism and Education*; Rizzo, *Ricerche sul latino umanistico*; Gehl, *A Moral Art*; Grendler,

- Renaissance Education*; Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*; Witt, 'What did Giovannino Read and Write?'; Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*.
- 33 Guarino in Kallendorf (ed.), *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 284: 'multa enim quae legentem forte fallerent, transferentem nullo modo fugere possunt'.
- 34 'The Study of Literature to Lady Battista Malatesta of Montefeltro', in Kallendorf (ed.), *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 98: 'modo, qui traduxit, in Latinum converterit illa, non autem perverterit'.
- 35 Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione*, 234: 'Et iam Basilium ipsum audiamus.'
- 36 *Ibid.*, 240: "At non potest – quis inquit – ea venustate in latinum referre, qua scriptum est grece". At id istum non intelligo, cur non possit.'
- 37 *Ibid.*, 239: 'Atque ita fit, ut laus quidem omnis primi auctoris sit, reprehensio vero conversoris, ut admirandum videatur, in tam iniqua conditione rerum velle quemquam sane mentis ad transferendum accedere.'
- 38 *Ibid.*, 240: 'Latinitas vero nostra ut non ambitiosa neque levis matrona mundum certe habet et suppellectilem suam, non luxuriosam quidem, sed tamen opulentam et que ad omnem usum abunde sufficiat'. See Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*.
- 39 See Gentili, *L'uomo aristotelico*; and Chapter 5, above.
- 40 James Hankins ('En traduisant l'*Ethique* d'Aristote', 139) documents the fact that of the 279 manuscripts that contain Grosseteste's translation listed in *Aristoteles Latinus* only 56 were copied out in the fifteenth century, and most of them outside Italy; whereas Bruni's translation survives in some 285 fifteenth-century manuscripts, mostly written in Italy between the second and third quarter of the century.
- 41 Griffiths *et al.* (eds.), *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, 204; Birkenmajer, 'Der Streit des Alonso von Cartagena', 165: 'Abunde enim gratulandum est, si antiquis laboribus aliquid adiciamus; sed sic addere uelle, ut ex toto dirimantur recte conscripta, alienum a ratione uidetur. Etenim si Leonardus ut apostillam uel glossulam quandam hanc nobis compilationem tradere uoluisset, non cum parua gratiarum actione acceptandam fore putarem; uel si ut nouam traductionem culuasset antiquae [et]t, ut ex utraque quicquid placeret licitum foret sumere, reliquisset, adhuc tolerandum iudicarem patienter. Sed quia in tantum in antiquam translationem insiluit, ut nedum uitiositatis sed totius nullitatis redarguat, libros Ethicorum nondum in Latinum conuersos affirmans, quasi non uitiosa sed penitus nulla translatio fuerit, merito obuiandum putavi ... translationis nostrae ac modernae audaciae ... remeandum.' See also Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 53–60.
- 42 Birkenmajer, 'Der Streit des Alonso von Cartagena', 175.
- 43 Griffiths *et al.* (eds.), *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, 205. Birkenmajer, 'Der Streit des Alonso von Cartagena', 175: 'Multis ergo erroribus pateat oportet, qui scientiam sub eloquentia tradere nititur; sed sapienti uiro illud congruum iudico sub restrictis et proprissimis uerbis, quae scientifica sunt, discutere, post uero ad elimata documenta et purificatas doctrinas persuadendo uerbis eloquentibus acclamare.'

- 44 Griffiths *et al.* (eds.), *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, 208.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 207.
- 46 Kristeller, 'Un codice padovano di Aristotele'. The manuscript of the Castilian text is Vatican, Otto. lat. 2054, which contains the attribution: 'Aqui comiençan la ethicas de Aristotiles las quales son repartidas en diez libros et trasladolas el famoso orador Leonardo de Areçio de la lengua griega en el latin en muy elevado estilo segund su traslacion nueva et despues traslado de latin en nuestro vulgar castellano el muy reverendo Senor don Alonso de santa maria obispo de Burgos'; Kristeller, 'Un codice padovano di Aristotele', 340n. See also Gentili, *L'uomo aristotelico*, 48–9.
- 47 Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 73–80. See also De Petris, 'Le teorie umanistiche'.
- 48 Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione*, 76–8: 'Dico igitur omnem interpretationis vim in eo consistere, ut, quod in altera lingua scriptum sit, id in alteram recte traducatur. Recte autem id facere nemo potest, qui non multam ac magnam habeat utriusque linguae peritiam. Nec id quidem satis. Multi enim ad intelligendum idonei, ad explicandum tamen non idonei sunt. Quemadmodum de pictura multi recte iudicant, qui ipsi pingere non valent, et musicam artem multi intelligunt, qui ipsi sunt ad canendum inepti.'
- 49 *Ibid.*, 78: 'Primum enim notitia habenda est illius linguae, de qua transfers, nec ea parva neque vulgaris, sed magna et trita et accurata et multa ac diuturna philosophorum et oratorum et poetarum et ceterorum scriptorum omnium lectione quesita.' Bruni also uses the word *vulgarem* in the letter, *De studiis et litteris*, written to Battista Malatesta: 'Homini quidem ad excellentiam illam, ad quam ego nunc te voco, contententi in primis necessariam puto non exiguum neque vulgarem, sed magnam et tritam et accuratam et reconditam litterarum peritiam, sine quo fundamento nihil altum neque magnificum sibi aedificare quisquam potest.' Kallendorf (ed.), *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 92.
- 50 Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione*, 120.
- 51 Rener, *Interpretatio*, 274; Folena, *Volgarizzare e tradurre*, 66. Sabbadini ('*Maccheroni e tradurre*') observed the newness of the term but thought it stemmed from Bruni's misreading of Aulus Gellius. Folena counters Coseriu, who puts Vives forward as the revolutionary figure, in 'Das Problem des Übersetzens bei Juan Luis Vives'. The term *traduzione* is also used in vernacular writers. Another humanist theorist of translation was Giannozzo Manetti who in his retranslation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and of the New Testament took a middle road between the classicism of Bruni and the traditions of medieval translation. See De Petris, 'Le teorie umanistiche'; Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*.
- 52 Bruni, *Le vite*, 49: 'Lo scrivere in istile litterato o vulgare non ha a fare al fatto, né altra differenza è se non come scrivere in greco o in latino.'
- 53 Baldassarri, *Umanesimo e traduzione*, 22; Folena, *Volgarizzare e tradurre*, 57; Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, 120–1.

- 54 Tavoni, *Latino, grammatica, volgare*, Rizzo, *Ricerche sul latino umanistico*; Ferguson, 'Diglossia'; McLaughlin, 'Latin and Vernacular'; Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, 122.
- 55 This is discussed in his treatise, *On the Family*, Book 3. Alberti wrote the first Italian grammar. His treatise on painting exists in two versions, of which the Latin is now thought to be the translation, rather than the other way around. He also had a hand in promoting the vernacular poetry contest of 1441, the *Certame coronario*. See Tavoni, *Latino, grammatica, volgare*; McLaughlin, 'Latin and Vernacular'; Gorni, 'Storia del certame coronario'; Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, 124–31.
- 56 The retranslation of *Pro Marcello* is published together with the others attributed to Brunetto Latini in *Le tre orazioni*, ed. Rezzi. See Maggini, *I primi volgarizzamenti*; Tanturli, 'I Benci copisti', 214; Tanturli, 'Continuità dell'umanesimo'; Baldassarri, *Umanesimo e traduzione*, 22; Folena, *Volgarizzare e tradurre*, 57. On Manetti's completion of Bruni's treatise on translation and a humanist dialogue in Latin commemorating the centenary of Boccaccio's *brigata* in which he includes both of Bruni's tales, see Marsh, 'Boccaccio in the Quattrocento'.
- 57 Kallendorf (ed.), *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 280: 'ea nobis lingua naturalis non sit'.
- 58 Ianziti, 'Bruni on Writing History'. Indeed, one of the early criticisms of the humanists was their lack of original work. See Domenico da Prato's 'Prefazione', in Lanza (ed.), *Polemiche*, 243, where the humanists are accused in the following terms: 'Io non ho alcuna opera per ancora né istoriografica, né filosofica, né poetica veduta delle loro apparire. Alcuno di quelli risponderà disdegnosamente: – Tu non hai adunque letto le traduzioni che delle opere greche di Aristotele e di Plutarco ho fatte in latino? – Al quale infino da ora rispondo averne lette e vedute alcune, e lui commendo che sappi greco e latino, ma non per inventore delle opere fatte per altri, e di queste restargli piccolissima fama, non ostante che per le rubriche in esso siano vanamente intitolate, imperò che la fama è delli inventori delle opere e non delli traduttori.'
- 59 Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione*, 240: 'In historia vero, in qua nulla est inventio, non video equidem, quid intersit, an ut facta, an ut ab alio dicta scribas. In utroque enim par labor est, aut etiam maior in secundo.' Ianziti's translation.
- 60 Ianziti, 'Bruni on Writing History', 375; Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione*, 250.
- 61 Kendrick, 'Lorenzo Valla's Translation Theory and the Latin Imperium', 135. See also Lo Monaco, 'Per la traduzione valliana della "Pro Ctesiphonte" di Demostene'.
- 62 For the Medicean cultural politics involved in the turn to the vernacular in the 1460s, see especially Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, 132–60.
- 63 Landino says he received the commission while working on his *Disputationes camaldulenses* (1472) and he completed it sometime before 20 August 1474, before Federico da Montefeltro had become duke (referred to as *principe degli Urbinati*). Barbato, *Il libro VIII del Plinio napoletano*, 2.

- 64 Landino, *Scritti critici e teorici*, 83: ‘re Ferdinando, el quale conoscendo gran parte degli òmini essere ignari delle latine lettere, hai voluto ancora in questa parte sovenire a queglii, e dare opera che Pinio di latino diventi toscano e di romano fiorentino, acciò che essendo scritto in lingua commune a tutta Italia e a molte esterne nazioni assai familiare, l’opera sua giovi a molti’. See the discussion in Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia*, 123–8.
- 65 Landino, *Scritti critici e teorici*, 91: ‘A questo s’arroe la diversità di varie scienze più tosto accennate che narrate e con tanta brevità transcorse che ancora in quella lingua nella quale Plinio le scrive possono non solamente al vulgo ma agl’uomini dotti parere oscure.’
- 66 *Ibid.*, 91–2: ‘*Praeterea* molte cerimonie, molti sacrifici, molti giuochi, molte altre cose delle quali in questo libro si fa menzione ebbono e’ Latini le quali non furono mai in consuetudine apresso di queglii che hanno usato la lingua nella quale scrivo. Non è adunque maraviglia se non ho trovato vocaboli toscani alle cose non mai state in uso appresso de’ Toscani. Ma se a’ Latini fu lecito non avendo in molte cose e’ vocaboli latini usare e’ greci, come veggiamo quasi in tutte le dottrine e arti nelle quali più tosto vollono dire *filosofia* che *studio di sapienzia* e *musica* che *scienza di canto* e *geometria* e *arithmeticæ* *astrologia* che *ragione di misure, di numeri o di stelle*.’
- 67 *Ibid.*, 38: ‘è necessario essere latino chi vuole essere buono toscano ... Ognuno si vede che volendo arricchire questa lingua, bisogna ogni dì de’ latini vocaboli, non sforzando la natura, derivare e condurre nel nostro idioma.’
- 68 *Ibid.*, 92: ‘Ma sarà forse chi arebbe disiderato che in molti luoghi io fussi uscito delle parole dello scrittore e alle sentenze oscuramente dette avessi arrotto di mio, e non solamente tradotto quanto lui pone ma dichiarato e comentato quello che fussi conciso e oscuro. A’ quali confesso che C. Plinio ha trattato alcune arti non come colui che le ’nsegna a chi non le sa ma le ramenta a chi le sa: le quali cose se io avessi voluto lungamente distendere in forma che *etiam* gl’indotti l’avessino intese era necessario che el volume el quale per sé è molto grande con questo arrotto divenissi ismisurato, ne io arei usato officio d’interprete e traduttore ma di comentatore. Il perché ho stimato essere a sufficienzia se traducendo tanto arò fatto toscano quanto Plinio fece latino.’
- 69 *Ibid.*, 93: ‘Tu adunque, invittissimo re, le nostre lunghe vigilie felicemente leggerai, le quali se intenderò esserti state grate darò opera con ogni industria e con sommo studio scrivere dell’altre cose per le quali el tuo invittissimo nome e degno d’immortalità si conservi in diuturna fama.’
- 70 Barbato, *Il libro VIII del Plinio napoletano*, 3. Fubini (*Quattrocento fiorentino politica diplomazia cultura*, 331–2) found a dispatch from Niccolò Bendidio to Ercole d’Este, dated 20 August 1475, in which he mentions the vulgarizzamento of Pliny: ‘Il signor re di Napoli ha facto tradurre in questa lingua [*scil.* in vulgare] Plinio *De naturali historia* a meser Christophoro Landino de qui, homo doctissimo, quel che inscripse a Vostra Excellentia el libro *De anima*; et hali facto dare pro mercede doxento ducati. Se ’l piacesse a Vostra

Celsitudine se poteria farlo etiam transcrivere per lei qui al medesimo scriptore. Messer Marino mi dice che sono circa 53 quinterni grandi, et che gli costa lire 8 di questa moneta il quinterno per la scriptura e per la charta. La opera è diffusa e varia come è epsa natura; et perché lo è pieno de nomi de animali et ocelli et de herbe et d'ogni cossa, essendo tuti traducti per vocabuli toscani, che pur molti sono differenti da' lombardi, parerà a uno lombardo, che non habii questa lingua, in alcuni nomi fastidioso; chi havesse mo mescolato alcuna volta il lombardo col toscano, qui haveria parso deturpata la elegantia di questa lingua, se ben forsi in tuto non fusse stato male, per farla più commune. Intendo che'l prefato signor Re l'ha facto tradure per donare al Illustrissimo duca di Borgogna, quale molto si dilecta di legere.'

- 71 Barbato, *Il libro VIII del Plinio napoletano*, 5. For the text of the letters, see Pugliese Carratelli, 'Due epistole di Giovanni Brancati', 181–3.
- 72 Barbato, *Il libro VIII del Plinio napoletano*, 5; Pugliese Carratelli, 'Due epistole di Giovanni Brancati', 183: 'Quod si uerum est, cur potius altera non editur interpretatio, quae fortasse et fidelior erit et semoni nostro quotidiano propior? Sermo enim etruscus hoc praesertim tempore plane ingratus est, nec minus lectu quam parlatu difficilis.'
- 73 Barbato, *Il libro VIII del Plinio napoletano*, 5: 'Legi ego eius libros qui inscribuntur *De Anima*; nec legi quidem solum, sed etiam perlegi. Dicam aperte quod sentio: ubique mihi uisus est philosophaster, et is quidem qui in numero recentium possit censi magis quam uetustorum; eloquens nusquam uisus est qui dicat quidem plura, sed eodem fere dicendi genere quo ceteri recentiores utuntur.'
- 74 *Ibid.*, 6: 'polliceor ecquidem Plinii Secundi opus idem de naturali historia, quod uir ille interpretatus est, integrum me interpretaturum, et quidem libentius quam interpretationis illius partem minimam castigaturum, tametsi negotium laborem quidem allaturum uideatur prope infinitum sed gloriam aut exiguum aut omnino nullam. Quid enim aeque potest esse inglorium, quam hominem latinum aut huius imitorem scribere uernacule quod sit intra paucissimos menses negligendum, ne dicam pedibus terendum?'
- 75 *Ibid.*, 6: 'Neque me unquam paenitebit sic esse pollicitum. Nam etsi non eo utor sermonis genere delicato et ut sic dicam ostentatiuo, quo fere omnes utuntur et Etrusci et horum imitatores, tamen, quod uere dixeris interpretantis officium, nihil aut addam aut demam aut obscurum relinquam, quod a uiro illo, qui et oratoris et philosophi consummatissimi nomen accepit, factum non esse uehementer miror. Verba praterea ipsa singula sic consectabor, ut qui meam interpretationem legerit, dicere possit id ipsum se legisse quod sit a Plinio scriptum.'
- 76 *Ibid.*, 6–7: 'Quid, quod plurima sunt in auctoribus ipsis uerba, quae interpretari apposite nullo modo possunt? uernacule inquam, quandoquidem uerba materna nostratiaeque non reperiuntur quae latinis illis satis respondeant. Tanta enim incidit linguae ipsi latinae iactura ac potius mutatio, ut quae olim eadem fere erat per omnia et rusticis et urbanis et doctis et indoctis, eo dumtaxat manente discrimine, quod nunc in sermone



quotidiano esse solet inter plebeum et nobilem, nunc adeo sit corrupta recedensque ab ea quam appellamus uulgarem, quantum a coelo, ut aiunt, terram recessisse uidemus.’

- 77 *Ibid.*, 7: ‘Docent inquit! interpretationes. At quod docent? Sartores, sutores, tonsores et omne hominum genus humile atque abiectum, cum quo nihil iis quorum ingenuus est animus commune esse debet.’
- 78 *Ibid.*, 17: ‘Et benché questa mia traductione sia tale che solo la utilità de essa sarà da extimare (poiché non – secundo alchuni fanno – ho curato fundarme in parole exquisite de altrui linguaggio, ma contentarme del nostro medesimo, qual, non essendo tanto inepto, come da molti è postposto assai me soglio meravigliare), pure me so’ sforzato fare la traductione al testo conforme et quanto ho possuto elegante et fidele ad nostra lingua, non lassando però né agiungendo cosa alcuna, ché tale ho sempre officio de vero interprete giudicato.’
- 79 *Ibid.*, 21: ‘Ben so io esserno multe cose in latino dicte quale in vulgaro nostro o vero non se ponno per niente o ver non assai propriamente esprimere, quale son multi de animali quali noi avemo, molti de arbori quali fi’ al presente sono como dal principio foron chiamati; chosì de herbe, de medicine, de infirmitate, de metalle, de pietre et de gioie, essendono o ver per loro rarità o vero per sorte chon li primi lor nomi pervenute. Ma certamente seria stato più da commendare, se con una non se posseva, cho multe però conveniente parole le dichiarare, che chosì le aver lassate como le han trovate. Et questa ragione persuase ad me che occurrendonome simile cose, le habia voluto più tosto in le margine dichiarare che o vero lassarle quale le havesse trovate o vero in tucto toglierele o vero mutarle, stando sempre in la medesima sententia che bisogna la traduction sia fidele.’
- 80 *Ibid.*, 24: ‘Non ho anche curato far la medesima traductione in altro linguaggio che in lo nostro medesimo non pur napolitano ma misto, parte perché ò iudicato questo ad nesun altro esser inferiore, parte perché ho voluto la medesima traductione sia utile ad tucti certo, ma principalmente a li miei conregnicoli et sopra ad tucti ad te, invictissimo Re Ferrando, qul, benché tucte lingue habie familiare, como se lege de Alexandro, nientedimeno de questa principalmente te dilecti, qual te bisogna de continuo usare. Così fero no anche antiqui; et Tito Livio, patre de le historie romane, non volce in altra che in quella de la sua patria lingua scrivere, donde li fo da poi dicto che ‘l suo parlar troppo sapeva del paduano.’
- 81 Decembrio, *De Politia litteraria* 1, 6, f. 10–11. See Gravelle, ‘The Latin-Vernacular Question’, 374. See also Celenza, ‘Creating Canons in Fifteenth-Century Ferrara’.
- 82 Fumagalli, ‘Il volgarizzamento di Erodoto’; Looney, ‘Erodoto dalle “Storie” al Romanzo’, 436; Ponte, ‘Matteo Maria Boiardo dalla traduzione storiografica al romanzesco’. On Boiardo’s translation work generally, see Acocella, ‘Alcune osservazioni su Boiardo traduttore’.
- 83 Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense 424. Both the title of the work (‘Prologo ne / la traductione de Ri / cobaldo per Matheo Maria Boiardo’) and Boiardo in

his preface unambiguously classify the text as a translation: 'ho deliberato tradure a la vulgar gente da lingua Latina' (ff. 1r-2r). In a catalogue compiled probably before 1477, Boiardo's translation is mentioned as 'Ricobaldo per Matheo Maria Boiardo' in a list of 'libri vulgari' in the Duke's private study. See Rizzi, 'When a Text is Both a Pseudotranslation and a Translation'; and Rizzi, *The 'Historia Imperiale'*.

- 84 Scarsella, 'Boiardo traduttore parodista', 388: 'El primo libro de Orlando innamorato, en el quale se contiene le diverse aventure e le cagione di esso innamoramento, tradutto da la verace cronica de Turpino, Arcivescovo remense'.

## Bibliography

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Acta Sanctorum: *The Full Text Database*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1999.
- Aegidius Romanus. *Del reggimento de' principi di Egidio Romano: volgarizzamento trascritto nel MCCLXXXVIII*, ed. Francesco Corazzini. Florence: Le Monnier, 1858.
- De regimine principum: Libri III*, ed. F. Samaritanum (repr. of Rome 1607 edition). Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1967.
- Albertazzi, Luigi, ed. *Breve compendio della vita del Beato Giovanni Colombini: testo latino del Beato Giovanni Tavelli da Tossignano e testo volgare di un Anonimo del '400*. Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1910.
- Alberti, Leon Battista. *Della famiglia*, in Alberti, *Opere volgari*, ed. Cecil Grayson. Bari: Laterza, 1960–73.
- Aldobrandino da Siena. *Le Régime du corps*, ed. L. Landouzy and R. Pépin. Paris: Champion, 1911.
- Allaire, Gloria, ed. and trans. *Il Tristano Panciatichiano*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002.
- Angilu da Capua. *La istoria di Eneas vulgarizata per Angilu da Capua*, ed. Gianfranco Folena. Palermo: Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani, 1956.
- Athanasius. 'Vita Beati Antonii Abbatis', *Vitae Patrum*, in Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series Latina*, vol. LXXIII. Paris: Garnier, 1979, 126–70.
- Augustine. *Confessions*, trans. Vernon J. Bourke. New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1953.
- Confessionum Libri XIII*, ed. Lucas Verheijen. Tournhout: Brepols, 1981.
- Banchi, Luciano, ed. *I fatti di Cesare*. Bologna: Romagnoli, 1863.
- Bartolommeo da San Concordio. *Ammaestramenti degli antichi raccolti e volgarizzati per Fra Bartolommeo da S. Concordio Pisano dell'ordine dei predicatori*, ed. Pietro Fraticelli. Florence: Fraticelli, 1842.
- Battaglie, Salvatore, ed. *Il Boezio e l'Arrighetto nelle versioni del Trecento*. Turin: UTET, 1929.
- Belcari, Feo. 'Vita del Beato Giovanni Colombini da Siena', in Claudio Varese (ed.), *Prosatori volgari del Quattrocento*. Milan, Naples: Ricciardi, 1955, 7–20.

- Benoît de Sainte-Maure. *Le Roman de Troie en prose (version du Cod. Bodmer 147)*, ed. Françoise Viellard. Cologny-Geneva: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1979.
- Le Roman de Troie publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus*, ed. Léopold Constans, 6 vols. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1904–12.
- Le Roman de Troie: extraits du manuscrit Milan, Bib. Ambrosienne, D 55*, ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Viellard. Paris: Librairie générale française, 1998.
- Benzo d'Alessandria. *Il 'Chronicon' di Benzo D'Alessandria e i classici latini all'inizio del XIV Secolo: edizione critica del libro XXIV: 'De Moribus Et Vita Philosophorum'*, ed. Marco Petoletti. Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2000.
- Berengario di Donadio. *Life of Saint Clare*, ed. John E. Rotelle, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell. Villanova, PA: Augustinian Press, 1998.
- Binduccio dello Scelto. *La storia di Troia*, ed. Maria Gozzi. Milan-Trent: Luni, 2000.
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. *Opere latine minori*, ed. Aldo Francesco Massera. Bari: Laterza, 1928.
- Esposizioni sopra la Comedia di Dante*, ed. Giorgio Padoan. Milan: Mondadori, 1965.
- Trattatello in laude di Dante*, ed. Pier Giorgio Ricci, in Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, vol. III. Milan: Mondadori, 1974, 423–538.
- Decameron*, ed. Vittore Branca, in Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, vol. IV. Milan: Mondadori, 1976.
- Le rime*, ed. Vittore Branca, in Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, vol. V.1. Milan: Mondadori, 1992.
- Il Corbaccio*, ed. Giorgio Padoan, in Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, vol. V.2. Milan: Mondadori, 1994, 413–614.
- Bonaventure, S. *Bonaventurae opera omnia*. Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1882–1902.
- Boncompagni da Signa. *Rhetorica novissima*, in A. Gaudenzi (ed.), *Bibliotheca iuridica medii aevi: Scripta Anecdota Glossatorum*, vol. II. Bologna: Treves, 1892.
- Bonsignori da Città di Castello, Giovanni. *Ovidio Metamorphoseos vulgare*, ed. Erminia Ardissino. Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 2001.
- Bruni, Leonardo. *Ad Petrum Paulum Histrum*, in Eugenio Garin (ed.), *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento*. Milan: Ricciardi, 1952.
- Le vite di Dante e del Petrarca*, ed. Antonio Lanza. Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi, 1987.
- Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Histrum*, ed. Stefano Ugo Baldassarri. Florence: Olschki, 1994.
- Sulla perfetta traduzione*, ed. Paolo Viti. Naples: Liguori, 2004.
- Casagrande, Carla, and Silvana Vecchio. *I peccati della lingua*. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1987.
- Cavalca, Domenico. *Pungilingua*. Rome: Antonio dei Rossi, 1751.
- Disciplina degli spirituali col trattato delle trenta stoltizie*. Rome: Pagliarini, 1757.

- Volgarizzamento del Dialogo di san Gregorio e dell'Epistola di san Girolamo ad Eustochio*, ed. Giovanni Bottari. Rome: Pagliarini, 1764.
- I frutti della lingua*, ed. Giovanni Bottari. Milan: Silvestri, 1837.
- Volgarizzamento del Dialogo di San Gregorio: e dell'Epistola di S. Girolamo ad Eustochio*. Milan: Silvestri, 1840.
- Cinque vite di eremiti: dalle Vite dei santi padri*, ed. Carlo Delcorno. Venice: Marsilio, 1992.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Clerk's Tale*, in *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957, 101–14.
- Climaco, Giovanni. *La scala del Paradiso di S. Giovanni Climaco*, ed. Antonio Ceruti. Bologna: Romagnoli, 1874.
- Compagni, Dino. 'La canzone del Pregio', in Natalino Sapegno (ed.), *Poeti minori del Trecento*. Milan: Ricciardi, 1952, 282–8.
- Conte, Alberto, ed. *Il novellino*. Rome: Salerno, 2001.
- Contini, Gianfranco, ed. *Poeti del Duecento*. Milan: Ricciardi, 1960.
- D'Agostino, Alfonso, ed. *Fiori e vita di filosafi e d'altri savi e d'imperadori*. Florence: La nuova Italia, 1979.
- Dante Alighieri. *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, ed. Giorgio Petrocchi, 4 vols. Milan: Mondadori, 1966–7.
- Commedia*, ed. Anna Maria Chiavacci Leonardi. Milan: Mondadori, 1991.
- Convivio*, ed. Cesare Vasoli and Domenico De Robertis, in Dante, *Opere minori*, vol. II. Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1995.
- De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo, in Dante, *Opere minori*, vol. III.1. Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1995.
- Egloge*, ed. Enzo Cecchini, in Dante, *Opere minori*, vol. III.2. Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1996.
- Vita nova*, ed. Guglielmo Gorni. Turin: Einaudi, 1996.
- The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, vol. 1: *Inferno*, ed. and trans. Robert Durling and Ronald Martinez. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Rime*, ed. Domenico De Robertis. Florence: Le Lettere, 2002.
- Purgatorio*, trans. Jean Hollander and Robert Hollander. New York: Doubleday, 2003.
- The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, vol. II: *Purgatorio*, ed. and trans. Robert Durling and Ronald Martinez. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Dares and Dictys. *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*, trans. R. M. Frazier, Jr. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1966.
- Dares. *Daretis Phrygii De excidio Troiae historia*, ed. Ferdinand Meister. Leipzig: Teubner, 1873.
- De Blasi, Nicola, ed. *Libro de la destructione de Troye. volgarizzamento napoletano trecentesco da Guido delle Colonne*. Rome: Bonacci, 1986.
- De Luca, Giuseppe, ed. *Prosatori minori del Trecento: scrittori di religione*. Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1954.

- Decembrio, Angelo. *De polittia litteraria*, trans. Raymond Wanner, in Werner Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: The Style of a Renaissance Despotism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- Domenico da Prato. 'Prefazione', in Antonio Lanza (ed.), *Polemiche e berte letterarie nella Firenze del primo Quattrocento*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1971.
- Flutre, Louis-Fernand, and Cornelis Sneijders de Vogel, eds. *Li fet des Romains compilé ensemble de Saluste et de Suetoine et de Lucan: texte du XIIIe siècle*. Paris: E. Droz, 1935–8.
- Giamboni, Bono. *Fiore di rettorica*, ed. Giambattista Speroni. Pavia: Università di Pavia, 1994.
- Giordano da Pisa. *Prediche sulla Genesi recitate in Firenze nel MCCCIV dal beato Fra Giordano da Rivalto dell'Ordine dei Predicatori*, vol. II, ed. Domenico Moreni. Florence: Magheri, 1830.
- Prediche del beato Fra Giordano Da Rivalto recitate in Firenze dal MCCCIII al MCCCVI*, ed. Domenico Moreni. Florence: Magheri, 1831.
- Quaresimale fiorentino 1305–1306*, ed. Carlo Delcorno. Florence: Sansoni, 1974.
- Giovanni da Salerno, trans. *Gli Evangelii del B. Simone da Cascia esposti in volgare dal suo discepolo fra Giovanni da Salerno*, ed. Nicola Mattioli. Rome: G. d'Antonis, 1902.
- Giovanni del Virgilio. 'Egloge', in Dante, *Opere minori*, vol. III.2, 645–89.
- Giovanni Bonsignori da Città di Castello. *Ovidio Metamorphoseos vulgare*, ed. Erminia Ardissono. Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 2001.
- Gregorius Magnum. *Dialogorum Libri IV*, in Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, vol. LXXVII. Paris: Garnier, 1962, 150–430.
- Gregory the Great. *Dialogues*, trans. O.J. Zimmerman. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1959.
- Guido de Columnis. *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, ed. Nathaniel E. Griffin. Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936.
- Guido delle Colonne. *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, trans. Mary E. Meek. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974.
- Guinizelli, Guido. *Rime*, ed. L. Rossi. Turin: Einaudi, 2000.
- Heijkant, Marie-José, ed. *Tristano riccardiano*. Parma: Pratiche, 1991.
- Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, ed. M. de Visser-van Terwisga. Orléans: Paradigme, 1995.
- Horace. *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961.
- Jerome, Saint. *Letters and Select Works*, trans. William Henry Fremantle, in *Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, 2nd Series, vol. VI, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wave. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1893.
- Correspondance*, ed. Jérôme Labourt. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002.
- Chronique*, ed. Benoît Jeanjean and Bertrand Lançon. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2004.
- Kallendorf, Craig, ed. *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.

- Landino, Cristoforo. *Scritti critici e teorici*, ed. Roberto Cardini, vol. 1: *Testi*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1974.
- Latini, Brunetto. *Le tre orazioni di Marco Tullio Cicerone dette dinanzi a Cesare: per M. Marcello, Q. Ligario, e il Re Dejotaro*, ed. Luigi Maria Rezzi. Milan: Fanfani, 1832.
- Il tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni*, ed. Luigi Gaiter. Bologna: G. Romagnoli, 1877–83.
- La rettorica*, ed. Francesco Maggini. Florence: Le Monnier, 1968.
- Il tesoretto*, ed. Marcello Ciccuto. Milan: Rizzoli, 1985.
- Tresor*, ed. Pietro G. Beltrami, Paolo Squillacioti, Plinio Torri and Sergio Vatteroni. Turin: Einaudi 2007.
- Leggenda aurea. Volgarizzamento toscano del Trecento*, ed. Arrigo Levasti. Florence: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1924–6.
- Lippi Bigazzi, Vanna, ed. *Ovid. I volgarizzamenti trecenteschi dell'Ars Amandi' e dei 'Remedia amoris'*, 2 vols. Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1987.
- ed. *Un volgarizzamento inedito di Valerio Massimo*. Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1996.
- Macrobius, Ambrosius Theodosius. *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1963.
- Marshall, John Henry, ed. *The Donatz Proensals of Uc Faiddit*. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Martin da Canal. *Les Estoires de Venise*, ed. A. Limentani. Florence: Olschki, 1982.
- Mondini de Leuciis. *Expositio super Capitulum de generatione embrionis Canonis Avicenna cum quibusdam quaestionibus*, ed. Romana Martorelli Vico. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1993.
- Negroni, Carlo, ed. *La Bibbia volgare*. Bologna: Romagnoli, 1884.
- Niccolò da Verona. *Opere*, ed. Franca Di Ninni. Venice: Marsilio, 1992.
- Opera del Vocabolario Italiano database*: [www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/](http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/).
- Orlando, Sandro, ed. *Rime dei Memoriali Bolognesi (1279–1300)*. Turin: Einaudi, 1981.
- Otto, Bishop of Freising. *Ottonis Episcopi Frisingensis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici; Seu rectius, Cronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaft, 1965.
- Palmieri, Matteo. *Vita civile*, ed. Gino Belloni. Florence: Sansoni, 1982.
- Paoletta, Alfonso, ed. *Volgarizzamento meridionale anonimo di Francesco Petrarca Itinerarium breve de Ianua usque ad Ierusalem et Terram Sanctam*. Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1993.
- Parodi, Ernesto, ed. *Tristano riccardiano (ca. 1300)*. Bologna: Romagnoli, 1896.
- Passavanti, Jacopo. *Specchio della vera penitenza*. Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1725.
- Patton, Lucy Allen, ed. *Les Prophecies de Merlin Edited from MS. 593 in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Rennes*, 2 vols. London and New York, 1926–7.
- Petrarca, Francesco. *Le familiari*, 4 vols., ed. Vittorio Rossi. Florence: Sansoni, 1942.
- Letters of Old Age: Rerum senilium libri I–XVIII*, trans. Aldo Bernardo et al., 2 vols. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

- 'De oboedientia et fide uxoria in *Seniles* (XVII, 3), 1373', in Nardone and Lamarque (eds.), *L'Histoire de Griselda*, 59–103.
- Le 'Senili' second l'edizione Basilea 1581, ed. Marziano Guglielminetti. Savigliano: L'Artistica editrice, 2005.
- Res Seniles, Libri I–IV*, ed. Silvia Rizzo. Florence: Le Lettere, 2006.
- Pizzorno, Francesco, ed. *Le decche di T. Livio*, 6 vols. Savona: Sambolino, 1842–5.
- Psaki, Regina, ed. *Italian Literature*, vol. II: *Tristano Riccardiano*. Woodbridge, UK, and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 2006.
- Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. Harry Caplan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954.
- Rinuccini, Cino. 'Invettiva contro a certi calunniatori di Dante, etc.', in Antonio Lanza (ed.), *Polemiche e berte letterarie nella Firenze del primo Quattrocento*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1971, 261–7.
- Rizzi, Andrea, ed. *The 'Historia Imperiale' by Riccobaldo Ferrarese translated by Matteo Maria Boiardo (1471–1473)*. Rome: Istituto storico, 2008.
- Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Felix Lecoy. Paris: Champion, 1965–70.
- Ronchi, Gabriela, ed. *Il trattato de la spera volgarizzato da Zuccherò Bencivenni*. Florence: Crusca, 1999.
- Sacchetti, Franco. *Il libro delle rime*, ed. Franca Brambilla Ageno. Florence, Perth: Olschki, University of Western Australia Press, 1990.
- Il Trecentonovelle*, ed. Valerio Marucci. Rome: Salerno, 1996.
- La battaglia delle belle donne, Le lettere, le sposizioni di Vangeli*, ed. Alberto Chiari. Bari: Laterza, 1938.
- Sapegno, Natalino, ed. *Poeti minori del Trecento*. Milan: Ricciardi, 1952.
- Segre, Cesare, ed. *La prosa de Duecento*. Milan: Ricciardi, 1959.
- Volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento*. Turin: UTET, 1964.
- Sophronius. 'Vita Sanctae Mariae Aegyptiacae', in *Vitrum Patrum*, in Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series Latina*, vol. LXXXIII. Paris: Garnier, 1879, 671–90.
- Tjerneld, Håkan, ed. *'Moamin' et 'Ghatrif': traités de fauconnerie et des chiens de chasse*. Stockholm and Paris: Fritze 1945.
- Valerio Massimo. *De' fatti e detti degni di memoria della città di Roma e delle stranie genti*, ed. Roberto De Visiani. Bologna: G. Romagnoli, 1867–8.
- Vecellio, Cesare. *Degli abiti antichi et moderni, di diverse parti del mondo*. Venice: Damiano Zenaro, 1590.
- Villani, Giovanni. *Nuova cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta. Parma: Guanda, 1990.
- Vocabolario della lingua italiana*. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1986.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- Acocella, Mariantonietta. 'Alcune osservazioni su Boiardo traduttore', *Schifanoia* 2 (1991): 63–79.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *Stanzas: Word and Phantasm in Western Culture*, trans. R. Martinez. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1983.
- Ahern, John. 'The New Life of the Book: The Implied Reader of the Vita Nuova', *Dante Studies* 110 (1992): 1–16.



- Albertazzi, Luigi. 'Sulla vita del Beato Giovanni Colombini composta dal beato Giovanni Tavelli da Tossignano in lingua latina e voltata in lingua volgare da Feo Belcari', *Propugnatore* **18** (1885): 1–24.
- Alessio, Gian Carlo. 'Brunetto Latini e Cicerone (e i dettatori)', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* **22** (1979): 123–69.
- Alfie, Fabian. 'One Year – or Two Decades – of Drunkenness? Cecco Angiolieri and the Udine 10 Codex', *Italica* **78** (2001): 18–35.
- Allaire, Gloria. 'The Written Eloquence of Frate Cipolla (Decameron, vi, 10)', *Neophilologus* **82.3** (1998): 393–402.
- Aneschi, Giuseppe, and Tina Matarrese, eds. *Il Boiardo e il mondo estense nel quattrocento: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi 1994*. Padua: Antenore, 1998.
- Antonelli, Roberto. 'Canzoniere Vaticano latino 3793', in Alberto Asor Rosa (ed.), *Letteratura italiana: Le opere*, vol. 1. Turin: Einaudi, 1992, 27–44.
- Aquilecchia, Giovanni. 'Introduzione', in Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, ed. Aquilecchia. Turin: Einaudi, 1979.
- Armour, Peter. 'Brunetto, the Stoic Pessimist', *Dante Studies* **112** (1994): 1–18.
- Artifoni, Enrico. 'Sull'eloquenza politica nel Duecento italiano', *Quaderni medievali* **35** (1993): 57–78.
- Ascoli, Albert Russell. *Ariosto's Bitter Harmony: Crisis and Evasion in the Italian Renaissance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Asor Rosa, Alberto, ed. *Letteratura italiana: storia e geografia*, vol. 1: *L'età medievale*. Turin: Einaudi, 1987.
- Asperti, Stefano. 'I Vangeli in volgare italiano', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, 119–44.
- Avalle, D'Arco Silvio. 'Un'idea di filologia romanza', in *La doppia verità: Fenomenologia ecdotica e lingua letteraria nel Medioevo romanzo*. Florence: SISMEL, 2002, 705–17.
- Avril, Françoise, and Marie-Thérèse Gousset, eds. *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine italienne*, vol. 11: *XIIIe siècle*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1984.
- Azzetta, Luca. 'Tradizione latina e volgarizzamento della prima Deca di Tito Livio', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* **36** (1993): 175–97.
- 'Notizia intorno a Andrea Lancia traduttore degli Statuti per il Comune di Firenze', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* **37** (1994): 173–7.
- 'Per la biografia di Andrea Lancia: documenti e autografi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* **39** (1996): 121–70.
- 'Le chiose alla *Commedia* di Andrea Lancia: *L'Epistola a Cangrande* e altre questioni dantesche', *L'Alighieri* **21** (2003): 5–76.
- 'La tradizione del *Convivio* negli antichi commenti alla *Commedia*: Andrea Lancia: L'Ottimo commento e Pietro Alighieri', *Rivista di studi danteschi* **5** (2005): 3–34.
- Bachmann-Medick, Doris. 'Translational Turn', in Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften*. Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2006, 238–83.

- Baldan, Paolo. 'Pentimento ed espiatione di un pubblico lettore: Boccaccio e la commentaria dantesca', in Maria Grazia Pensa (ed.), *Bufere e Molli Aurette*. Guerini: Milan, 1996, 21–35.
- Baldassarri, Guido. 'Accessus ad auctores nella Rettorica di Brunetto Latini', *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 12 (1967): 104–5.
- Baldassarri, Stefano. *Umanesimo e traduzione: tra Petrarca e Manetti*. Cassino: Università di Cassino, 2003.
- Baldelli, Ignazio. 'La letteratura volgare in Toscana dalle Origini ai primi decenni del secolo XIII', in Asor Rosa (ed.), *Letteratura italiana: storia e geografia*, vol. 1, 65–77.
- 'La letteratura dell'Italia mediana dalle Origini al XIII secolo', in Asor Rosa (ed.), *Letteratura italiana: storia e geografia*, vol. 1, 27–63.
- Baldini, Rossella. 'Zuccherò Bencivenni, *La santà del corpo*. Volgarizzamento del *Régime du corps* di Aldobrandino da Siena (a. 1310) nella copia coeva di Lapo di Neri Corsini (Laur. Pl. LXXIII 47)', *Studi di lessicografia italiana* 15 (1998): 21–300.
- Balsamo, Jean. *Les Rencontres des muses: italianisme et anti-italianisme dans les lettres françaises de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Geneva: Slatkine, 1992.
- Bambi, Federico. "'Ser Andreas Lance, notarius, de ipsis in magna parte vulgaricavit'", *Bollettino dell'Opera del vocabolario italiano* 4 (1999): 345–66.
- Barański, Zygmunt. 'Il *Fiore* e la tradizione delle *Translationes*', *Rassegna europea della letteratura italiana* 516 (1995): 31–41.
- 'Sole nuovo, luce nuova': *saggi sul rinnovamento culturale in Dante*. Turin: Scriptorium, 1996.
- 'The Ethics of Literature: The *Fiore* and Medieval Traditions of Rewriting', in Barański and Boyde (eds.), *The Fiore in Context*, 207–32.
- Barański, Zygmunt, and Patrick Boyde, eds. *The Fiore in Context: Dante, France, Tuscany*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997.
- Barbato, Marcello. *Il libro VIII del Plinio napoletano di Giovanni Brancati*. Naples: Liguori, 2001.
- Barbi, Michele. *La nuova filologia e l'edizione dei nostri scrittori da Dante a Manzoni*. Florence: Sansoni, 1938.
- Barbieri, Edoardo. 'Domenico Cavalca volgarizzatore degli *Acta Apostolorum*', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, 291–328.
- 'Panorama delle traduzioni bibliche in volgare prima del Concilio di Trento', *Folia theologica* 8 (1997): 169–97.
- Barkan, Leonard. *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Barolini, Teodolinda. *Dante's Poets: Textuality and Truth in the Comedy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- 'Dante and the Lyric Past', in Rachel Jacoff (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 14–33.
- Barolini, Teodolinda, and Wayne Storey. *Dante for the New Millennium*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2003.

- Bassnett, Susan, and André Lefevere. 'Introduction: Proust's Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights: The "Cultural Turn" in Translation Studies', in Bassnett and Lefevere, *Translation, History and Culture*. London and New York: Pinter Publishers, 1990, 1–13.
- 'The Translation Turn in Cultural Studies', in Bassnett and Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998, 123–40.
- Battaglia, Salvatore, ed. *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*. Turin: UTET, 1962.
- Bäumli, Franz. 'Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Speculum* 55 (1980): 237–65.
- Bec, Christian. *Les Marchands écrivains: affaires et humanisme à Florence (1375–1434)*. Paris: Mouton, 1967.
- Bédier, Joseph. 'La Tradition manuscrite du Lai du l'Ombre: réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes', *Romania* 54 (1928): 161–96, 321–56.
- Beer, Jeanette. *A Medieval Caesar*. Geneva: Droz, 1976.
- 'Julius Caesar, Philip Augustus, and the Anonymous Translator of Li Fet des Romains', in Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Medieval Translator*, vol. II. London: University of London, 1991, 88–97.
- Beltrami, Pietro. 'Per il testo del "Tresor": appunti sull'edizione di F. J. Carmody', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 3rd series, 18 (1988): 961–1009.
- 'Appunti su vicende del "Tresor": composizione, letture, riscritture', in *L'enciclopedismo medievale*, ed. Michelangelo Picone. Ravenna: Longo, 1994, 311–28.
- Bénéteau, David. 'Per un'edizione critica dei *Fatti dei Romani*', *Italianistica* 26 (1997): 401–11.
- Benjamin, Walter. 'The Task of the Translator', in Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. H. Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1969, 69–82.
- Benucci, Elisabetta, Roberta Manetti and Franco Zabagli, eds. *Cantari novellistici dal Tre al Cinquecento*. Rome: Salerno, 2002.
- Benvenuti Papi, Anna. 'Corsini Neri', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. xxix. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1983, 647–9.
- Beretta Spampinato, Margherita. 'Deloc, Daniele', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. xxxviii. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1990, 190–2.
- Berger, Samuel. 'La Bible italienne au Moyen Age', *Romania* 23 (1894): 358–431. Repr. in *La Bible Romane au Moyen Age (bibles provençales, vaudoises, catalanes, italiennes, castillanes et portugaises)*. Geneva: Slatkine, 1977.
- Bertoni, Giulio. 'Un frammento di una versione perduta del *Roman de Troie*', *Romania* 39 (1910): 570–9.
- Bhabha, Homi. 'How newness enters the world: Postmodern space, postcolonial times and the trials of cultural translation', in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994, 212–35.
- Billanovich, Giuseppe. 'La leggenda dantesca del Boccaccio, dalla lettera di Ilaro al Trattatello in laudo di Dante', *Studi danteschi* 28 (1949): 45–144.
- 'Il Boccaccio, il Petrarca e le più antiche traduzioni in italiano delle decadi di Tito Livio', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 130 (1953): 311–37.

- La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell'umanesimo*, vol. 1: *Tradizione e fortuna di Livio tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*. Padua: Antenore, 1981.
- Billier, Peter. 'Heresy and literacy: earlier history', in Billier and Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy*, 1–18.
- Billier, Peter, and Anne Hudson, eds. *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Billotte, Denis. *Le Vocabulaire de la traduction par Jean de Meun de la 'Consolatio Philosophiae' de Boèce*, 2 vols. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000.
- Bird, Otto. 'The Canzone d'Amore of Cavalcanti according to the Commentary of Dino del Garbo', *Mediaeval Studies* 2/3 (1940/1): 150–203 and 117–60.
- Birkenmajer, Aleksander. 'Der Streit des Alonso von Cartagena mit Leonardo Bruni Aretino', *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Philosophie* 20.5 (1922): 129–210.
- Black, Robert. 'The Vernacular and the Teaching of Latin in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Italy', *Studi Medioevali* 37 (1996): 703–51.
- Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Bloch, Howard. *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- The Anonymous Marie de France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate. 'Introduction: The Middle Ages', in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Luise von Flotow and Daniel Russell (eds.), *The Politics of Translation in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2001, 17–27.
- Boli, Todd. 'Boccaccio's *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, Or *Dante Resartus*', *Renaissance Quarterly* 41.3 (1988): 389–412.
- Bolzoni, Lina. *Rete delle immagini: predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena*. Turin: Einaudi, 2002.
- Boswell, John. 'Dante and the Sodomites', *Dante Studies* 112 (1994): 63–76.
- Botley, Paul. *Latin Translation in the Renaissance. The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Boyle, Leonard. 'Innocent III and Vernacular Versions of Scripture', *Subsidia* 4 (1985): 97–107.
- Braida, Antonella. 'Dante and Translation: An Approach to Untranslatability as Metaphor in Dante's Work', in John Barnes and Michaelangelo Zaccarello (eds.), *Language and Style in Dante*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, forthcoming.
- Brambilla, Simona. 'Zanobi da Strada volgarizzatore di Cicerone. *Edizione critica del Sogno di Scipione*', *Studi petrarcheschi* n.s. 13 (2000): 1–79.
- Branca, Vittore. 'Copisti per passione, tradizione caratterizzante, tradizione di memoria', in *Convegno di studi di Filologia italiana nel Centenario della Commissione per i Testi di Lingua*. Bologna: Commissione per i Testi di Lingua, 1961, 69–83.
- Briggs, Charles. 'Teaching Philosophy at School and Court: Vulgarization and Translation', in Somerset and Watson (eds.), *The Vulgar Tongue*, 99–111.

- Brownlee, Kevin. 'The Conflicted Genealogy of Cultural Authority: Italian Responses to French Cultural Dominance, in *Il Tesoretto, Il Fiore, and La Commedia*', in Valeria Finucci and K. Brownlee (eds.), *Generation and Degeneration: Tropes of Reproduction in Literature and History from Antiquity through Early Modern Europe*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001, 262–86.
- Bruognoli, Giorgio. 'Frammento di una nuova versione italiana dei *Faits des Romains*', *Cultura neolatina* 14 (1954): 91–8.
- Bruognolo, Furio. 'I siciliani e l'arte dell'imitazione: Giacomo da Lentini, Rinaldo d'Aquino e Jacopo Mostacci "traduttori" dal provenzale', *La parola del testo* 3 (1999): 45–74.
- Brunetti, Giuseppina. 'Un capitolo dell'espansione del francese in Italia: manoscritti e testi a Bologna fra Duecento e Trecento', in *Bologna nel medioevo*. Bologna: Pàtron, 2004, 125–64.
- Bruni, Francesco. 'La prosa volgare', in Giorgio Barbèri Squarotti, Francesco Bruni and Ugo Dotti (eds.), *Dalle origini al Trecento: storia della civiltà letteraria italiana*, vol. 1.1. Turin: UTET, 1990, 337–89.
- Boccaccio: *l'invenzione della letteratura mezzana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990.
- 'Tra Darete-Ditti e Virgilio', *Studi medievali* 37 (1996): 753–810.
- 'Between Oral Memory and Written Tradition in Florence at the Beginning of the XIVth Century: Coppo di Borghese Domenichi, Andrea Lancia and Giovanni Boccaccio', in Jean-Philippe Genet (ed.), *L'Histoire et les nouveaux publics dans l'Europe médiévale (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997, 113–26.
- Bruni, Gerardo. 'Il *De regimine principum* di Egidio Romano', *Aevum* 6 (1932): 339–72.
- Buonocore, Marco, ed. *Vedere i classici: l'illustrazione libraria dei testi antichi dall'età romana al tardo Medioevo*. Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1996.
- Buridant, Claude. 'Les Bînomes synonymiques: esquisse d'une histoire des couples de synonymes du Moyen age au XVIIIe siècle', *Bulletin d'analyse du discours* 4 (1980): 5–79.
- '*Translatio medievalis*: théorie et pratique de la traduction médiévale', *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 21 (1983): 81–136.
- Burke, Peter, and R. Po-chia Hsia. *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Busby, Keith. *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 vols. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2002.
- Cachey, Theodore J., Jr. 'Between Petrarch and Dante: Prolegomenon to a Critical Discourse', in Zygmunt Barański and Theodore Cachey (eds.), *Petrarch and Dante: Anti-Dantism, Metaphysics, Tradition*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009, 3–49.
- Calabretta, Antonio. 'Contatti italo-francesi nella storia dei più antichi volgarizzamenti della Bibbia: il caso dei Vangeli del cod. *marciano It. I, 3*', *Medioevo Romanzo* 19 (1994): 53–89.
- Campbell, Emma. 'Sexual Poetics and the Politics of Translation in the Tale of Griselda', *Comparative Literature* 55.3 (2003): 191–216.

- Carlesso, G. 'La versione sud del *Roman de Troie en prose* e il volgarizzamento di Binduccio dello Scelto', *Atti dell'Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* **124** (1965–6): 519–60.
- Casella, Maria Teresa. *Tra Boccaccio e Petrarca: i volgarizzamenti di Tito Livio e di Valerio Massimo*. Padua: Antenore: 1982.
- Castellani, Arrigo. 'Le formule volgari di Guido Faba', *Studi di filologia* **13** (1955): 5–78.
- Cecchi, Emilio, and Natalino Sapegno, eds. *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. II: *Il Trecento*. Milan: Garzanti, 1987.
- Celenza, Christopher. 'Creating Canons in Fifteenth-Century Ferrara: Angelo Decembrio's *De politia litteraria* 1.10', *Renaissance Quarterly* **57** (2004): 43–98.
- Cellerino, Liana. 'Domenichi, Coppo (Giacoppo, Jacopo, Coppo di Borghese Domenichi)', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. XL. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991.
- Cerquiglini, Bernard. *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie*. Paris: Seuil, 1989.
- Cestaro, Gary. 'Queering Nature, Queering Gender: Dante and Sodomy', in Barolini and Storey (eds.), *Dante for the New Millennium*, 90–103.  
*Dante and the Grammar of the Nursing Body*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2003.
- Cherchi, Paolo. 'Filologie del 2000', *Rassegna europea della letteratura italiana* **17** (2001): 135–53.
- Chesney, Kathleen. 'Roman de Troie: A Neglected Prose Version', *Medium aevum* **11** (1942): 46–67.
- Chiamenti, Massimiliano. *Dante Alighieri traduttore*. Florence: Le lettere, 1995.
- Ciccuto, Marcello. 'Tresor di Brunetto Latini', in Alberto Asor Rosa (ed.), *Letteratura italiana: le opere*, vol. 1: *Dalle origini al Cinquecento*. Turin: Einaudi, 1992, 45–59.
- Cigni, Fabrizio. 'La ricezione medievale della letteratura francese nella Toscana nord-occidentale', in E. Werner and S. Schwarze (eds.), *Fra toscanità e italianità: lingua e letteratura dagli inizi al Novecento*. Tübingen and Basel: Francke, 2000, 71–108.
- Ciociola, Claudio. 'Dante', in Malato (ed.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. I, 137–99.
- Cipriani, Renata. *Codici miniati dell'Ambrosiana: contributo ad un catalogo*. Vicenza: Pozza, 1968.
- Clanchy, Michael T. *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Cogan, Marc. *The Design in Wax*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1999.
- Colomb De Batines, Paul. 'Andrea Lancia, scrittore fiorentino del Trecento', *L'Etruria* **1** (1851): 18–27.
- Contini, Gianfranco. 'Un manoscritto ferrarese di scritture popolarreggianti', *Archivum Romanicum* **22** (1938): 281–319.  
'Un nodo della cultura medievale: la serie *Roman de la Rose-Fiore-Commedia*', *Lettere italiane* **25** (1973): 162–89.

- Cooper, Christine. 'Miraculous Translation in the Book of Margery Kempe', *Studies in Philology* 101.3 (2004): 270–98.
- Copeland, Rita. *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Cornish, Alison. 'A Lady Asks: The Gender of Vulgarization in Late Medieval Italy', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 115 (2000): 166–80.
- 'Vulgarizing Science: Dante's Translation of Latin Learning', in Barolini and Storey (eds.), *Dante for the New Millennium*, 169–82.
- Coseriu, Eugenio. 'Das Problem des Übersetzens bei Juan Luis Vives', in Mario Wandruszka, Karl-Richard Bausch and Hans-Martin Gauger (eds.), *Interlinguistica: Sprachvergleich und Übersetzung*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1971, 571–82.
- Costantini, Aldo Maria. 'Studi sullo Zibaldone Magliabechiano. I. Descrizione e analisi', *Studi sul Boccaccio* 7 (1973): 21–59.
- Costantini, Fabrizio. 'Prosa 3 di *Roman de Troie*: analisi sinottica fra tradizione e traduzione', *Critica del Testo* 7 (2004): 1045–89.
- Cox, Virginia. 'Ciceronian Rhetorical Theory in the Volgare: A Fourteenth-Century Text and its Fifteenth-Century Readers', in Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman and Rodney M. Thomson (eds.), *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*. Tournhout: Brepols, 2003, 201–25.
- 'Ciceronian Rhetoric in Late Medieval Italy: The Latin and Vernacular Traditions', in Cox and Ward (eds.), *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, 109–43.
- Cox, Virginia, and John O. Ward, eds. *The Rhetoric of Cicero in Its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Cozzi, Enrica, ed. *La 'storia di Troia' dell'antica loggia di Udine: presentazione del restauro degli affreschi recuperati*. Udine: Comune di Udine, Civici Musei e Gallerie di Storia ed Arte, 1997.
- Crespo, Roberto. 'Da Macrobio al Novellino', *Studi medievali* 18 (1977): 227–30.
- 'Volgarizzamenti', in *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, ed. Vittore Branca, vol. III. Turin: UTET, 1986, 462–8.
- Critchley, John. *Marco Polo's Book*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1992.
- Croce, Benedetto. 'Boccaccio e Franco Sacchetti', in Croce, *Poesia popolare e poesia d'arte*. Bari: Laterza, 1946, 81–91.
- D'Agostino, Alfonso. 'Itinerari e forme della prosa', in Malato (ed.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. I, 527–630.
- 'La prosa delle Origini e del Duecento', in Malato (ed.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. X, 91–135.
- Dalarun, Jacques and Lino Leonardi, eds. *Biblioteca agiografica italiana: repertorio di testi e manoscritti secoli XIII–XV*. Florence: Galluzzo, 2003.
- Davis, Charles. 'Brunetto Latini and Dante', *Studi medievali* 8 (1967): 421–50.
- Davis, Kathleen. 'National Writing in the Ninth Century: A Reminder for Postcolonial Thinking about the Nation', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28.3 (1998): 611–37.

- De Blasi, Nicola. 'Il rifacimento napoletano trecentesco della *Historia destructionis Troiae*', *Medioevo* **6** (1979): 98–134.
- De Luca, Giuseppe. 'Introduction', in De Luca (ed.), *Prosatori minori del Trecento*, xi–xl.
- De Man, Paul. 'Conclusions: Walter Benjamin's "The Task of the Translator"', in de Man, *Resistance to Theory*. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1986, 73–105.
- De Medici, Giuliana. 'Le fonti dell'Ottimo commento alla *Divina Commedia*', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* **26** (1983): 71–125.
- De Petris, Alfonso. 'Le teorie umanistiche del tradurre e l'*Apologeticus* di Gianozzo Manetti', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* **37** (1975): 15–32.
- De Poerck, Guy. 'Le Bible et l'activité traductrice dans les pays romans avant 1300', in Hans Robert Jauss (ed.), *La Littérature didactique, allégorique et satirique*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1968, 21–48.
- De Robertis, Teresa. 'Introduction', in Sandra Bertelli (ed.), *I manoscritti della letteratura italiana delle origini: Firenze Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale*. Florence: SISMEL, 2002.
- De Robertis Boniforti, Teresa. 'Nota sul codice e la sua scrittura', in Barański and Boyde (eds.), *The Fiore in Context*, 49–86.
- De Robertis, Domenico. 'Censimento dei manoscritti di Dante', *Studi danteschi*, various issues starting in **37** (1960).
- 'Cantari antichi', in *Studi di filologia italiana* **28** (1970): 67–175.
- 'Introduzione', in Benucci et al. (eds.), *Cantari novellistici*.
- Decembrio, Angelo. *De politia litteraria*, trans. Raymond Wanner in Werner Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: The Style of a Renaissance Despotism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- Delcorno Branca, Daniela. *Tristano e Lancilotto in Italia: studi di letteratura arturiana*. Ravenna: Longo, 1998.
- Delcorno, Carlo. 'Per l'edizione delle "Vite dei Santi Padri" del Cavalca. La tradizione manoscritta: i codici delle biblioteche fiorentine', *Lettere italiane* **29** (1967): 265–89.
- Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare*. Florence: Olschki, 1975.
- 'Predicazione volgare e volgarizzamenti: les ordres mendiants et la ville en Italie centrale (v. 1220–v. 1350)', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome: Moyen Âge–Temps Modernes* **89** (1977): 679–89.
- 'Introduzione', in Cavalca, *Cinque vite*.
- 'La tradizione manoscritta delle "Vite dei Santi Padri": prime osservazioni', in J. Hamesse (ed.), *Les Problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes médiévales, 1992, 421–91.
- 'Produzione e circolazione dei volgarizzamenti religiosi tra Medioevo e Rinascimento', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, 3–22.
- 'Diffusione del volgarizzamento', in Delcorno, *La tradizione delle "Vite dei Santi Padri"*. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2000, 515–32.



- Della Giovanna, Ildebrando. 'S. Francesco d'Assisi giullare e le "Laudes Creaturarum"', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 25 (1895): 1-92.
- Dinshaw, Carolyn. *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.
- Dionisotti, Carlo. 'Proposta per Guido Giudice', in *Studi in onore di Alfredo Schiaffini*. Rome: Ateneo, 1965, 453-66.
- Geografia e storia*. Turin: Einaudi, 1967.
- Dronke, Peter. *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*. Leiden: Brill, 1985.
- Durling, Robert. 'Dante and Homosexuality', in Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, vol. 1: *Inferno*, ed. Durling and Martinez, 559-60.
- Durrieu, Paul. 'Jean de Meun et l'Italie', *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres: comptes rendus* (1916): 436-45.
- Eusebi, Mario. 'La più antica traduzione francese delle Lettere morali di Seneca e i suoi derivati', *Romania* 91 (1970): 1-47.
- Faiq, Said. 'Medieval Arabic Translation: A Cultural Consideration', *Medievalia* 26.2 (2005): 99-110.
- Fanfani, Pietro. 'Compilazione della Eneide di Virgilio fatta volgare per Ser Andrea Lancia notaro fiorentino', *L'Etruria* 1 (1851): 162-88, 221-52, 296-318, 497-508, 625-32, 745-60.
- 'Legge suntuaria fatta dal comune di Firenze l'anno 1355 e volgarizzata nel 1356 di Andrea Lancia', *L'Etruria* 1 (1851): 366-82, 429-43.
- Fenzi, Enrico. 'Introduzione', in Dante Alighieri, *Opere minori*, vol. II: *Convivio*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli and Enrico Fenzi. Turin: UTET, 1986.
- Fera, Vincenzo. *Antichi editori e lettori dell' Africa*. Messina: Centro di Studi Umanistici, 1984.
- Ferguson, Charles. 'Diglossia', *Word* 15 (1959): 325-40.
- Fido, Franco. 'The Tale of Ser Ciappelletto (1.1)', in Elissa B. Weaver (ed.), *The Decameron: First Day in Perspective*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 2003, 60-76.
- Fiesoli, Giovanni. *La genesi del lachmannismo*. Florence: Galluzzo, 2000.
- Flutre, Louis-Fernand. *Li fait des Romains dans les littératures française et italienne du xiii<sup>e</sup> au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Hachette, 1932.
- Folena, Gianfranco. 'La tradizione delle opere di Dante Alighieri', in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi danteschi*. Florence: Sansoni, 1965, 1-78.
- 'Tradizione e cultura trobadorica nelle corti e nelle città venete', in Folena (ed.), *Storia della Cultura veneta: dalle origini al Trecento*. Vicenza: Pozza, 1976, 453-562.
- Volgarizzare e tradurre*. Turin: Einaudi, 1991.
- Foligno, Cesare. 'Epistole inedite di Lovato de' Lovati e d'altri a lui', *Studi medioevali* 2 (1906-7): 47-58.
- Foote, David. 'How the Past Becomes a Rumor: The Notarialization of Historical Consciousness in Medieval Orvieto', *Speculum* 75.4 (2000): 794-815.
- Formentin, Vittorio. 'La prosa del Quattrocento', in Malato (ed.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. x, 545-600.

- Fragnito, Gigliola. 'Il ritorno al latino, ovvero la fine dei volgarizzamenti', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, 395–407.
- Frassinetti, Paolo. 'Darete Frigio', in *Enciclopedia virgiliana*, vol. I. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1984, 1000–2.
- 'Ditti Cretese', in *Enciclopedia virgiliana*, vol. II. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1984, 109–110.
- Frazier, Alison Knowles. *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Freccero, John. 'Manfred's Wounds', in Freccero, *Dante: The Poetics of Conversion*, 195–208.
- Dante: The Poetics of Conversion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- 'The Eternal Image of the Father', in Rachel Jacoff and Jeffrey Schnapp (eds.), *The Poetry of Allusion: Virgil and Ovid in Dante's Commedia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991, 62–76.
- Frick, Carole Collier. *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, and Fine Clothing*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Fubini, Riccardo. *Quattrocento fiorentino: politica, diplomazia, cultura*. Ospedaletto: Pacini, 1996.
- Fumagalli, Edoardo. 'Il volgarizzamento di Erodoto', in Anceschi and Matarrese (eds.), *Il Boiardo e il mondo estense*, 399–428.
- Gagliardi, Isabella. *I Pauperes Yesuati tra esperienze religiose e conflitti istituzionali*. Rome: Herder, 2004.
- Gaiter, Luigi, ed. *Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini, volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni*. Bologna: G. Romagnoli, 1877–83.
- Gasca Queirazza, Giuliano. 'Le traduzioni della Bibbia in volgare italiano anteriori al secolo XVI', in Marcel Boudreaux (ed.), *Actes du XIIIe Congrès international de linguistique et philologie romanes*, vol. II. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1976, 659–67.
- Gaunt, Simon, and Sarah Kay. *The Troubadours: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Gehl, Paul. *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Genette, Gérard. *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- Gentili, Sonia. *L'uomo aristotelico alle origini della letteratura italiana*. Rome: Carocci, 2005.
- Getto, Giovanni. *Vita di forme e forme di vita nel Decameron*. Turin: Petrini, 1958.
- Giannini, Gabriele. 'Tradurre fino a tradire: precisazioni siciliane', *Critica del testo* 3.3 (2000): 903–45.
- Gill, Katherine. 'Women and the Production of Religious Literature in the Vernacular, 1300–1500', in E.A. Matter and J. Coakley (eds.), *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994, 64–104.

- Gilson, Simon. *Dante and Renaissance Florence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Ginsberg, Warren. *Dante's Aesthetics of Being*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Chaucer's *Italian Tradition*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2002.
- Goody, Jack. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Gorni, Guglielmo. 'Storia del certame coronario', *Rinascimento* 12 (1972): 135–82.
- Dante prima della Commedia*. Fiesole: Cadmo, 2001.
- Gorra, Egidio. *Testi inediti di storia trojana preceduti da uno studio sulla leggenda trojana in Italia*. Turin: C. Triverio, 1887.
- Goulet, Monique. 'Une typologie des réécritures: peut-elle éclairer la nature du discours hagiographique?', *Hagiographica* 9 (2002): 109–22.
- Écriture et la réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval: essai sur les reecritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIIIe–XIIIe s.)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.
- Goulet, Monique, and Martin Heinzelmann, eds. *La Réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval: transformations formelles et idéologiques*. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2003.
- Gozzi, Maria. 'Sulle fonti del *Filostrato*: le narrazioni di argomento troiano', *Studi sul Boccaccio* 5 (1968): 123–209.
- 'Dal Roman de Troie di Benoît de Sainte-Maure al *Libro de la storia di Troia* di Binduccio de lo Scelto', in Luigi Ballerini, Gay Bardin and Massimo Ciavolella (eds.), *La lotta con Proteo: metamorfosi del testo e testualità della critica*, vol. 1. Fiesole: Cadmo 2000, 457–565.
- Gravelle, Sarah Stever. 'The Latin-Vernacular Question and Humanist Theory of Language and Culture', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49 (1988): 367–86.
- Grayson, Cecil. '"Nobilior est vulgaris": Latin and Vernacular in Dante's Thought', in Colin Hardie (ed.), *Centenary Essays on Dante*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, 54–76.
- Greetham, David. 'Textual and Literary Theory', *Studies in Bibliography* 42 (1989): 1–24.
- Textual Scholarship: An Introduction*. New York and London: Garland, 1994.
- Grendler, Paul. *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- Renaissance Education Between Religion and Politics*. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum, 2006.
- Gribomont, Jean. 'La *Scala Paradisi*, Jean de Raithou et Ange Clarenò', *Studia Monastica* 2 (1960): 345–58.
- Groppi, Felicina. *Dante as Translator*. Rome: Herder, 1966.
- Gualdo, Riccardo, and Massimo Palermo. 'La prosa del Trecento', in Malato (ed.), *La storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. x, 359–414.
- Guenée, Bernard. 'La Culture historique des nobles: le succès des *Faits des Romains* (XIe–XVe siècles)', in Philippe Contamine (ed.), *La Noblesse au moyen âge*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1976, 261–88.

- Guimbard, Catherine. 'Appunti sulla legislazione suntuaria a Firenze dal 1281 al 1384', *Archivio storico italiano* 150 (1992): 57–81.
- 'Francesco da Barberino e la scelta del volgare', in Arturo Calzona, Francesco Paolo Fiore, Alberto Tenenti and Cesare Vasoli (eds), *Il volgare come lingua di cultura dal Trecento al Cinquecento*. Florence: Olschki, 2003, 9–23.
- Guthmüller, Bodo. *Ovidio Metamorphoseos vulgare. Formen und Funktionen der volkssprachlichen Wiedergabe klassischer Dichtung in der italienischen Renaissance*. Boppard am Rhein: Boldt, 1981.
- 'Die volgarizzamenti', in August Buck (ed.), *Die italienische Literatur im Zeitalter Dantes und am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Renaissance*, 2 vols. Heidelberg: Winter, 1989, 201–54, 333–48.
- Hankins, James. 'En traduisant l'*Éthique* d'Aristote: Leonardo Bruni et ses critiques', in Fosca Mariani Zini (ed.), *Penser entre les lignes: philologie et philosophie au Quattrocento*. Lille: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2001, 133–60.
- Hanna, Ralph, Tony Hunt, R. G. Keightley, Alastair Minnis and Nigel F. Palmer. 'Latin Commentary Tradition and Vernacular Literature', in Minnis and Johnson (eds.), *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. II, 363–421.
- Harrison, Robert Pogue. 'The Bare Essential: The Landscape of *Il Fiore*', in Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot (eds.), *Re-Thinking the Romance of the Rose: Text, Image, Reception*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992, 290–303.
- Hauvette, Henri. 'Les Relations littéraires de la France et de l'Italie', *Annales de l'Université de Grenoble* 7.2 (1895): 239–57.
- Havely, Nicholas. 'Muses and Blacksmiths: Italian Trecento Poetics and the Reception of Dante in the House of Fame', in Alastair Minnis, Charlotte C. Morse and Thorlac Turville-Petrie (eds.), *Essays in Ricardian Literature in Honour of J. A. Burrow*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 61–81.
- Hawkins, Peter. '"Are You here?" Surprise in the Commedia', in Dana Stewart and Alison Cornish (eds.), *Sparks and Seeds: Medieval Literature and Its Aftermath*. Tournhout: Brepols, 2000, 175–97.
- Hermann, Julius. *Die Italienischen Handschriften des Dugento und Trecento*. Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1928–30.
- Hollander, Robert. *Boccaccio's Dante*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Holloway, Julia Bolton. *Twice-Told Tales*. New York: Peter Lang, 1993.
- Holsinger, Bruce W. 'Sodomy and Resurrection: The Homoerotic Subject of the Divine Comedy', in Louise Fradenburg and Carla Freccero (eds.), *Premodern Sexualities*. New York: Routledge, 1996, 243–74.
- Hortis, Attilio. *Cenni di G. Boccacci intorno a Tito Livio*. Trieste: Lloyd Austro-Ungarico, 1887.
- Hudson, Anne. *Lollards and Their Books*. London: Hambledon Press, 1985.
- Hult, David. *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Readership and Authority in the First 'Roman de la Rose'*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

- 'Reading It Right: The Ideology of Text Editing', *Romanic Review* 79.1 (1988): 74–88.
- Huot, Sylvia. *The 'Romance of the Rose' and Its Medieval Readers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Ianziti, Gary. 'Bruni on Writing History', *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998): 367–91.
- Infurna, Marco. 'La letteratura franco-veneta', in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, 2: *Il Medioevo volgare*, vol. III: *La recezione del testo*, dir. Piero Boitani, Mario Mancini and Alberto Varvaro, Rome: Salerno, 2003, 405–30.
- Jakobson, Roman. 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation', in Reuben Brower (ed.), *On Translation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959, 232–9.
- Johnson, Lesley. 'Reincarnations of Griselda: Contexts for the Clerk's Tale?', in Ruth Evans and Lesley Johnson (eds.), *Feminist Readings in English Literature: The Wife of Bath and All Her Sect*. London: Routledge, 1994, 195–220.
- Jung, Marc-René. 'Le Roman de Troie en prose du manuscrit Rouen.Bib.Mun. o.33', *Romania* 108 (1987): 433–60.
- La Légende de Troie en France au moyen âge: analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits*. Tübingen and Basel: Francke Verlag, 1996.
- Kaborycha, Lisa. 'Transvestites, Anchorites, Wives, and Martyrs: The Lives of Female Saints as Read by Fifteenth-Century Florentine Women', *Chronica* (2006): 56–5.
- Kay, Richard. 'The Sin of Brunetto Latini', *Mediaeval Studies* 31 (1969): 262–86.
- 'The Sin(s) of Brunetto Latini', *Dante Studies* 112 (1994): 19–31.
- Kelly, Douglas. 'Translatio Studii: Translation, Adaptation, and Allegory in Medieval French Literature', *Philological Quarterly* (1978): 287–310.
- The Conspiracy of Allusion: Description, Rewriting, and Authorship from Macrobius to Medieval Romance*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Kendrick, Robert. 'Lorenzo Valla's Translation Theory and the Latin Imperium', *Medievalia* 26.2 (2005): 133–54.
- Kennedy, Elspeth. 'The Scribe as Editor', in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier*. Geneva: Droz, 1970, 523–31.
- Kent, Francis William. *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone*, vol. II: *A Florentine Patrician and His Palace*. London: The Warburg Institute, 1981.
- Killerby, Catherine Kovesi. *Sumptuary Law in Italy, 1200–1500*. Oxford and New York: Clarendon/Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Kristal, Efrain. *Invisible Work: Borges and Translation*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. 'Un codice padovano di Aristotele postillato da Francesco ed Ermolao Barbaro: il manoscritto Plimpton 17 della Columbia University Library', *La Bibliofilia* 50 (1948): 162–78; repr. in Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, vol. 1. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1956, 337–53.

- Lefevere, André. *Translating Literature: The German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig*. Amsterdam: Von Gorcum, 1977.
- Leonardi, Lino. 'Volgarizzamenti italiani della Bibbia (sec. XIII–XV): status questionis e prospettive per un repertorio', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen-Âge* 105 (1993): 837–44.
- “A volerla bene volgarizzare”, *Studi medievali* 37 (1996): 171–201.
- ‘Versioni e revisioni dell’Apocalisse in volgare. Obiettivi e metodi di una ricerca’, in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, 37–92.
- ed. *La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*. Florence: SISMEL, 1998.
- Lepschy, Giulio, and Zygmunt Barański. ‘Translations’, in Peter Hainsworth and David Robey (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Italian Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, 594–5.
- Lesnick, Daniel. *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989.
- Lo Monaco, Francesco. ‘Per la traduzione valliana della Pro Ctesiphonte di Demostene’, in Ottavio Besomi and Mariangela Regoliosi (eds.), *Lorenzo Valla e l’umanesimo italiano*. Padua: Antenore, 1986, 141–64.
- Looney, Dennis. ‘Erodoto dalle “Storie” al Romanzo’, in Anceschi and Matarrese (eds.), *Il Boiardo e il mondo estense*, 429–41.
- Luongo, Salvatore. ‘Dal verso alla prosa’, in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, 2: *Il medioevo volgare*, vol. 1: *La produzione del testo*, dir. Piero Boitani, Mario Mancini and Alberto Varvaro. Rome: Salerno, 1999, 613–46.
- Luongo, Thomas. ‘Saintly Authorship in the Italian Renaissance: The Quattrocento Reception of Catherine of Siena’s Letters’, *Journal of the Early Book Society* 9 (2005): 1–29.
- Lusignan, Serge. ‘La topique de la *translatio studii* et les traductions françaises de textes savants au XIV siècle’, in Geneviève Contamine (ed.), *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge*. Paris: CNRS, 1989, 303–16.
- Lynde-Recchia, Molly. *Prose, Verse, and Truth-Telling in the Thirteenth Century: An Essay on Form and Function in Selected Texts, Accompanied by an Edition of the Prose Thèbes as Found in the Histoire ancienne jusqu’à César*. Lexington, KY: French Forum, 2000.
- Maas, Paul. *Critica del testo*. Florence: Le Monnier, 1982.
- Maggini, Francesco. *I primi volgarizzamenti dai classici latini*. Florence: Le Monnier, 1952.
- Malato, Enrico, ed. *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 1: *Dalle Origini a Dante*. Rome: Salerno, 1995.
- ed. *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 11: *Il Trecento*. Rome: Salerno, 1995.
- ed. *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. x: *La tradizione dei testi*. Rome: Salerno, 2001.
- Marchesi, Concetto. ‘Il compendio volgare dell’Etica aristotelica e le fonti del VI libro del Tesoro’, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 42.2 (1903): 1–74.
- ‘Di alcuni volgarizzamenti toscani in codici fiorentini’, *Studj romanzi* 5 (1907): 123–236; repr. in Marchesi, *Scritti minori di filologia e di letteratura*, vol. 1. Florence: Olschki, 1978, 343–432.

- Marchesi, Simone. 'Fra filologia e retorica: Petrarca e Boccaccio di fronte al nuovo Livio', *Annali d'Italianistica* 22 (2004): 361–74.
- Marcozzi, Luca. *La biblioteca di Febo: mitologia e allegoria in Petrarca*. Florence: Franco Cesati, 2002.
- Marcus, Millicent. *An Allegory of Form: Literary Self-Consciousness in the Decameron*. Saratoga, CA: Anma Libri, 1979.
- Marroni, Sergio, ed. *I fatti dei Romani: saggio di edizione critica di un volgarizzamento fiorentino del Duecento*. Rome: Viella, 2004.
- Marsh, David. 'Boccaccio in the Quattrocento: Manetti's *Dialogus in Symposio*', *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 337–50.
- Marti, Mario. 'Belcari, Feo', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. VII. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1965, 548–51.
- Martinez, Ronald. 'The Pilgrim's Answer to Bonagiunta', *Stanford Italian Review* 3 (1983): 37–63.
- 'Italy', in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, 279–94.
- 'Dante and Brunetto Latini', in Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, vol. 1: *Inferno*, eds. Durling and Martinez, 557–9.
- Marzi, Demetrio. *La cancelleria della repubblica fiorentina*. Rocca S. Casciano: Cappelli, 1910.
- Mascheroni, Carla. 'I codici del volgarizzamento italiano del *Tresor* di Brunetto Latini', *Aevum* 43 (1969): 485–510.
- Mazzocco, Angelo. *Linguistic Theories in Dante and the Humanists: Studies of Language and Intellectual History in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy*. Leiden and New York: Brill, 1993.
- Mazzotta, Giuseppe. 'The *Decameron*: The Marginality of Literature', *University of Toronto Quarterly* 42 (1972): 64–81.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Dante, Poet of the Desert: History and Allegory in the Divine Comedy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Dante's Vision and the Circle of Knowledge*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- McLaughlin, Martin. 'Latin and Vernacular from Dante to the Age of Lorenzo (1321–c.1500)', in Minnis and Johnson (eds.), *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. II, 612–25.
- Melani, Silvio. 'A proposito dei cosiddetti "Mémoires" attribuiti a Filippo di Novara', *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 34 (1988): 97–127.
- Mengaldo, Pier Vincenzo. 'Oil', in *Enciclopedia dantesca*, vol. IV. Rome: Istituto dell'enciclopedia italiana, 1973, 130–3.
- Mertens, Thom. 'Ghostwriting Sisters: The Preservation of Dutch Sermons of Father Confessors in the Fifteenth and the Early Sixteenth Century', in Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (ed.), *Seeing and Knowing: Women and Learning in Medieval Europe 1200–1550*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, 121–41.
- Messelaar, Petrus Adrianus. *Le Vocabulaire des idées dans le 'Tresor' de Brunet Latin*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1963.
- Meyer, Paul. 'Les Premières Compilations françaises d'histoire ancienne', *Romania* 14 (1884): 1–81.

- 'De l'expansion de la langue française en Italie pendant le moyen âge', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di scienze storiche*, vol. iv. Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1904, 61–104.
- Middleton, Anne. 'The Clerk and His Tale: Some Literary Contexts', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 2 (1980): 121–50.
- Millet, Bella. 'Mouvance and the Medieval Author: Re-Editing Ancrene Wisse', in Minnis (ed.), *Late-Medieval Religious Texts*, 9–20.
- Milner, Stephen J. 'Citing the Balcony: The Politics of Place and Public Address in Trecento Florence', *Italian Studies* 55 (2000): 53–82.
- 'Communication, Consensus and Conflict: Rhetorical Precepts, the *Ars concionandi*, and Social Ordering in Late Medieval Italy', in Cox and Ward (eds.), *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, 365–401.
- Minnis, Alastair. *Medieval Theory of Authorship*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.
- Magister amoris: The Roman de la Rose and Vernacular Hermeneutics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Translations of Authority in Medieval English Literature: Valuing the Vernacular*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- ed. *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*. Cambridge: Brewer, 1994.
- Minnis, Alastair, and Ian Johnson, eds. *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. II: *The Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Minnis, Alastair, and Alexander Scott. *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c. 1100–c. 1375*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1988.
- Monfrin, Jacques. 'Les Traducteurs et leur public au moyen âge', *Journal des Savants* (1964): 5–20.
- 'Étapes et formes de l'influence des lettres italiennes en France au début de la Renaissance', in Monfrin, *Études de Philologie Romane*. Geneva: Droz, 2001, 839–58.
- Monti, C. M. 'Redazioni anteriori di opere petrarchesche tra gli scritti di Barbato', *Studi petrarcheschi* 10 (1993): 145–54.
- Moore, Edward. *Studies in Dante*. First Series. Oxford: Clarendon, 1896.
- Moore, R. I. 'Literacy and the Making of Heresy', in Biller and Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy*, 19–37.
- Moorman, John R. H. *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
- Morabito, Raffaele. 'Per un repertorio della diffusione europea della storia di Griselda', in Morabito (ed.), *La circolazione dei temi e degli intrecci narrativi: il caso Griselda*. Aquila: Japadre, 1988, 7–20.
- Morf, Heinrich. 'Notes pour servir à l'histoire de la légende de Troie en Italie et en Espagne', *Romania* 21 (1892): 21–31.
- Morosini, Roberta. *Per difetto rintegrare: una lettera del Filocolo di Giovanni Boccaccio*. Ravenna: Longo, 2004.
- Morse, Charlotte. 'The Exemplary Griselda', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 7 (1985): 51–86.



- Morse, Ruth. *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Mulchahey, M. Michèle. 'Education in Dante's Florence Revisited: Remigio de' Girolami and the Schools of Santa Maria Novella', in R. Belgey (ed.), *Medieval Education*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2005, 143–81.
- Muscetta, Carlo. 'Giovanni Boccaccio e i novellieri minori', in Cecchi and Sapegno (eds.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. II, 499–551.
- Mussafia, Adolfo. 'Sul testo del *Tesoro* di Brunetto Latini', *Denkschriften Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 18–19 (1868): 265–334; repr. as an appendix in Thor Sundby, *Della vita e delle opere di Brunetto Latini*, trans. and ed. Rodolfo Renier. Florence: Le Monnier, 1884.
- Muzzarelli, Maria Giuseppina. 'Una società nello specchio della legislazione suntuaria: il caso dell'Emilia-Romagna', in Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli and Antonella Campanini (eds.), *Disciplinare il lusso: la legislazione suntuaria in Italia e in Europa tra medioevo ed età moderna*. Rome: Carocci, 2003, 17–31.
- Nardi, Bruno. 'Sull'origine dell'anima umana', in Nardi, *Dante e la cultura medievale*. Bari: Laterza, 1949, 260–83.
- Studi di filosofia medievale*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1960, 9–68.
- Nardone, Jean-Luc, and Henri Lamarque, eds. *L'Histoire de Griselda: une femme exemplaire dans les littératures européennes*. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2000.
- Novati, Francesco. 'Il pater noster dei lombardi', *Giornale di Filologia romanza* 2 (1879): 122–52.
- Attraverso il medioevo*. Bari: Laterza, 1905.
- Owen Hughes, Diane. 'Sumptuary Law and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy', in J. Bossy (ed.), *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 69–99.
- 'La moda proibita: la legislazione suntuaria nell'Italia rinascimentale', *Memoria* 11–12 (1984): 82–105.
- 'Le mode femminili e il loro controllo', in Georges Duby and M. Perrot, *Storia delle donne in Occidente*, vol. II: *Il Medioevo*, ed. C. Klapisch-Zuber. Rome: Laterza, 1990, 166–93.
- 'Regulating Women's Fashion', in C. Klapisch-Zuber (ed.), *A History of Women in the West: Silences of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992, 136–58.
- Padoan, Giorgio. *Il Boccaccio, le muse, il Parnaso e l'Arno*. Florence: Olschki, 1978.
- Palmieri, Matteo. *Vita civile*, ed. Gino Belloni. Florence: Sansoni, 1982.
- Papanti, Giovanni. *Dante, secondo la tradizione e i novellatori*. Livorno: Vigo, 1873.
- Papini, Gianni. 'I fatti dei Romani: per la storia della tradizione manoscritta', *Studi di filologia italiana* 31 (1973): 97–155.
- Parodi, Ernesto. 'I rifacimenti e le traduzioni italiane dell'*Eneide* di Virgilio prima del Rinascimento', *Studi di filologia romanza* 2 (1887): 97–368.

- 'Le storie di Cesare nella letteratura italiana dei primi secoli', *Studi di filologia romanza* 4 (1889): 237–501.
- 'Il Fiore e il Detto d'Amore', in *Le opere di Dante*, ed. M. Barbi, E. G. Parodi, F. Pellegrini et al. Florence: Bemporad, 1921, v–xx.
- Lingua e letteratura: studi di teoria linguistica e di storia dell'italiano antico*. Venice: Pozza, 1957.
- Pasquali, Giorgio. *Storia della tradizione*. Florence: Le Monnier, 1934.
- Scritti filologici*, 2 vols. Florence: Olschki, 1986.
- Passerini, Luigi. *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Corsini*. Florence: Cellini, 1858.
- Patschovsky, Alexander. 'The Literacy of Waldensianism from Valdes to c. 1400', in Biller and Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy*, 112–36.
- Patschovsky, Alexander, and Kurt-Victor Selge, eds. *Quellen zur Geschichte der Waldenser*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1973.
- Patterson, Lee. 'The Logic of Textual Criticism and the Way of Genius: The Kane-Donaldson Piers Plowman in Historical Perspective', in Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987, 77–113.
- Pearsall, Derek. 'Editing Medieval Texts', in J. McGann (ed.), *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985, 92–106.
- Pernicone, Vincenzo. 'Il Filostrato di Giovanni Boccaccio', *Studi di filologia italiana* 2 (1929): 77–128.
- Perosa, Alessandro. *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone*, vol. 1: 'Il Zibaldone quaresimale'. London: The Warburg Institute, 1960.
- Perugi, Maurizio. 'Chiose gallo-romanze alle Eroidi: un manuale per la formazione letteraria del Boccaccio', *Studi di filologia italiana* 47 (1989): 101–48.
- Petoletti, Marco. 'Benzo d'Alessandria e le vicende della guerra troiana: appunti sulla diffusione della *Ephemeris belli Troiani* di Ditti Cretese', *Aevum* 73 (1999): 469–91.
- Petrucchi, Armando. 'Le biblioteche antiche', in Alberto Asor Rosa (ed.), *Letteratura italiana*, vol. 11: *Produzione e consumo*. Turin: Einaudi, 1983, 529–32.
- 'Storia e geografia delle culture scritte', in Asor Rosa (ed.), *Letteratura italiana: storia e geografia*, vol. 11: *L'età moderna*, 2. Turin: Einaudi, 1988, 1279–85.
- Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy. Studies in the History of Written Culture*, ed. and trans. Charles M. Radding. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995, 169–235.
- Pézar, André. *Dante sous la pluie de feu (Enfer, Chant XV)*. Paris: J. Vrin, 1950.
- Picone, Michelangelo. 'Gli epigoni di Boccaccio e il racconto nel Quattrocento', in F. Brioschi and C. Di Girolamo (eds.), *Manuale di letteratura italiana: storia per generi e problemi*. Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1993, 655–96.
- 'The Formation of Literary Italian: Aspects of Poetic Tradition and Translation in the Thirteenth Century', *The Italianist* 16 (1996): 5–19.
- Pollidori, Valentina. 'La glossa come tecnica di traduzione: diffusione e tipologia nei volgarizzamenti italiani della Bibbia', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, 93–118.

- Pollock, Sheldon. 'Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History', *Public Culture* **12.3** (2000): 591–625.
- The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006.
- Pomaro, Gabriella. 'Analisi codicologica e valutazioni testuali della tradizione della *Commedia*', in *'Per correr miglior acque...'* Bilanci e prospettive degli studi danteschi alle soglie del nuovo millennio. Rome: Salerno, 2001, 1055–68.
- Ponte, Giovanni. 'Matteo Maria Boiardo dalla traduzione storiografica al romanzesco nella Vita di Federico Barbarossa', in Anceschi and Matarrese (eds.), *Il Boiardo e il mondo estense*, 443–59.
- Porta, Giuseppe. 'Vulgarizzamenti dal latino', in Malato (ed.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. II, 581–600.
- Pquigney, Joseph. 'Sodom in Dante's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*', *Representations* **36** (1991): 22–42.
- Pugliese Carratelli, Giovanni. 'Due epistole di Giovanni Brancati su la *Naturalis Historia* di Plinio e la versione di Cristoforo Landino', *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana n.s.* **3** (1951): 181–3.
- Punzi, Arianna. 'Le metamorfosi di Darete Frigio: la materia troiana in Italia (con un'appendice sul ms. Vat. Barb. lat. 3953)', *Critica del testo* **7** (2004): 163–211.
- Pym, Anthony. 'On the Historical Epistemologies of Bible Translating', in Philip A. Noss (ed.), *A History of Bible Translation*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2007, 195–215.
- Quaglio, Antonio E. 'Valerio Massimo e il *Filocolo* di Giovanni Boccaccio', *Cultura Neolatina* **20** (1960): 45–77.
- 'Retorica, prosa e narrative del Duecento', in C. Muscetta (ed.), *La letteratura italiana: storia e testi*, vol. 1.2: *Il Duecento dalle origini a Dante*, ed. N. Mineo, E. Pasquini and A. E. Quaglio. Bari: Laterza, 1970, 257–428.
- Rajna, Pio. 'Un'iscrizione nepesina del 1131', *Archivio storico italiano* **19** (1887): 23–53.
- Renner, Frederick. *Interpretatio: Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989.
- Renzi, Lorenzo. 'Il francese come lingua letteraria e il franco-lombardo. L'epica carolingia nel Veneto', in G. Arnaldi and M. Pastore Stocchi (eds.), *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 1: *Dalle origini al Trecento*. Vicenza: Pozza, 1976, 563–89.
- Reynolds, L. D., and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.
- Ricci, Pier Giorgio. 'Le tre redazioni del *Trattatello in laude di Dante*', *Studi sul Boccaccio* **8** (1974): 197–214.
- Richards, Earl Jeffrey. *Dante and the Roman de la Rose: An Investigation into the Vernacular Narrative Context of the Commedia*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1981.
- Rizzi, Aldo. *Udine tra storia e leggenda nell'arte e nell'iconografia*. Udine: Istituto per l'Enciclopedia del Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1983.

- Rizzi, Andrea. 'When a Text is Both a Pseudotranslation and a Translation: The Enlightening Case of Matteo Maria Boiardo (1441–1494)', in Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger and Daniel Simeon (eds.), *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2008, 153–62.
- Rizzo, Silvia. *Ricerche sul latino umanistico*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2002.
- Robinson, J. H. *Readings in European History*. Boston: Ginn, 1905.
- Roncaglia, Aurelio. 'La letteratura franco-veneta', in Cecchi and Sapegno (eds.), *Storia della letteratura Italiana*, vol. II, 727–59.
- "De quibusdam provincialibus translatis in lingua nostra", in *Letteratura e critica: studi in onore di Natalino Sapegno*, vol. II. Rome: Bulzoni, 1975, 1–36.
- 'Le origini', in Emilio Cecchi and Natalino Sapegno (eds.), *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. I: *Le origini e il Duecento*. Rome: Garzanti, 1987, 3–289.
- Ronchi, Gabriella. 'Un nuovo frammento del *Roman de Troie* di Benoît de Sainte Maure', *Cultura neolatina* 48 (1988): 73–84.
- 'Trattato della sfera, composizione del mondo: una serie di derivazioni', in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Aurelio Roncaglia*, vol. IV. Modena: Mucchi, 1989, 1161–71.
- 'I volgarizzamenti italiani dell'*Histoire ancienne*: la sezione tebana', in Paolo Rinoldi and Gabriella Ronchi (eds.), *Studi su volgarizzamenti italiani due-trecenteschi*. Rome: Viella, 2005, 99–165.
- Rosenstein, Roy. 'Mouvance and the Editor as Scribe: Trascrittore Traditore?', *Romanic Review* 80.2 (1989): 157–71.
- Rossi, Luciano. 'Scrittori borghesi dell'ultimo Trecento', in Malato (ed.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. II, 'Introduction', in Guido Guinizelli, *Rime*, ed. L. Rossi. Turin: Einaudi, 2002.
- 'Dante, la Rose e il Fiore', in Johannes Bartuschat and Luciano Rossi (eds.), *Studi sul canone letterario del Trecento: per Michelangelo Picone*. Ravenna: Longo, 2003, 9–32.
- 'Messer Burnetto e la "Rose"', in Irene Maffia Scariati (ed.), *A scuola con Ser Brunetto*. Florence: Galluzzo, 2008, 119–45.
- Rouse, Mary, and Richard Rouse. *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991.
- 'Ordinatio and Compilatio Revisited', in Mark D. Jordan and Kent Emery, Jr (eds.), *Ad Literam: Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992, 113–34.
- Rushdie, Salman. *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981–91*. London: Granta Books, 1991.
- Russo, Luigi. *Lecture critiche del Decameron*. Bari: Laterza, 1956.
- Sabbadini, Remigio. 'Maccheroni e tradurre (per la Crusca)', *Rendiconti: Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, 2nd series, 49 (1916): 221–4.
- Sanok, Catherine. *Her Life Historical: Exemplarity and Female Saints; Lives in Late Medieval England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

- Savo, G. 'Ignoti frammenti di un "Tristano" dugentesco', *Studi di Filologia Italiana* 87 (1979): 5–17.
- Scarsella, Alessandro. 'Boiardo traduttore parodista ovvero: La finzione di Turpino', in Anceschi and Matarrese (eds.), *Il Boiardo e il mondo estense*, 387–98.
- Schnapp, Jeffrey. *The Transfiguration of History at the Center of Dante's Paradise*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- 'Virgin Words: Hildegard of Bingen's Lingua Ignota and the Development of Imaginary Languages Ancient and Modern', *Exemplaria* 3 (1991): 267–98.
- Schneider, Jakob Hans Josef. 'Das Wort idiota im mittelalterlichen Latein', in Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf (ed.), *Untersuchungen ausgewählter altgriechischer sozialer Typenbegriffe und ihr Fortleben in Antike und Mittelalter*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981, 132–57.
- Segre, Cesare. 'Jean de Meun e Bono Giamboni traduttori di Vegezio. (Saggio sui volgarizzamenti in Francia e in Italia)', *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 87 (1952–3): 119–53. Now in Segre, *Lingua, stile, e società*, 271–300. *Lingua, stile e società: studi sulla storia della prosa italiana*. Milan: Feltrinelli, 1963.
- "'Libro dei Vizi e delle Virtudi': novità per i codici del gruppo β", in *Omaggio a Gianfranco Folena*, vol. 1. Padua: Editoriale Programma, 1993, 307–14.
- 'La letteratura franco-veneta', in Malato (ed.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 1, 631–47.
- Review of *the Future of the Middle Ages, Romance Philology* 51 (1998): 356–63.
- Segre, Cesare, and Gian Battista Speroni. 'Filologia testuale e letteratura italiana nel Medioevo', *Romance Philology* 45 (1991): 44–72.
- Shapiro, Marianne. *Dante and the Knot of Body and Soul*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1998.
- Smarr, Janet. *Boccaccio and Fiammetta: The Narrator as Lover*. Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1986.
- Smith, Julia. *Europe After Rome: A New Cultural History 500–1000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Somerser, Fiona, and Nicholas Watson, eds. *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.
- Sontag, Susan. 'The World as India', in Sontag, *At the Same Time: Essays and Speeches*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2007, 156–79.
- Speer, Mary. 'Textual Criticism Redivivus', *L'Esprit Créateur* 23.1 (1983): 38–48.
- Spiegel, Gabrielle. *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France*. Berkeley: University of California, 1993.
- Staccioli, Giuliano. 'Sul ms. Hamilton 67 di Berlino e sul volgarizzamento della "IV<sup>a</sup> Catilinarina" in esso contenuto', *Studi di filologia italiana* 42 (1984): 27–58.
- Steinberg, Justin. *Accounting for Dante: Urban Readers and Writers in Late Medieval Italy*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2007.
- Steiner, George. *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

- Stock, Brian. *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the 11th and 12th Centuries*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Stussi, Alfredo. *Fondamenti di critica testuale*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998.
- Tamassia, N. "Odofredo: Studio storico-giuridico", in Tamassia, *Scritti di storia giuridica*, vol. II. Padua: Cedam, 1967, 335–464.
- Tanturli, Giuliano. 'I Benci copisti: vicende della cultura fiorentina volgare tra Antonio Pucci e il Ficino', *Studi di filologia italiana* 36 (1978): 197–313.
- 'Volgarizzamenti e ricostruzione dell'antico: i casi della terza e quarta Deca di Livio e di Valerio Massimo, la parte del Boccaccio (a proposito di un'attribuzione)', *Studi medievali* 27 (1986): 811–88.
- 'Il Petrarca e Firenze: due definizioni della poesia', *Il Petrarca latino e le origini dell'umanesimo*, *Quaderni petrarcheschi* 10 (1993): 141–63.
- 'Continuità dell'umanesimo civile da Brunetto Latini a Leonardo Bruni', in Claudio Leonardi (ed.), *Gli umanesimi medievali*. Florence: SISMEL, 1998, 735–80.
- Tavoni, Mirko. *Latino, grammatica, volgare: storia di una questione umanistica*. Padua: Antenore, 1984.
- Storia della lingua italiana: Il Quattrocento*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992.
- Terracini, Benvenuto. 'Il problema della traduzione', in Terracini, *Conflitti di lingue e di cultura*. Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1957, 49–121.
- Lingua libera e libertà linguistica*. Turin: Einaudi, 1963.
- Thomas, Antoine. 'Aquilon de Bavière. Roman franco-italien inconnu', *Romania* 11 (1882): 538–69.
- Triaud, Anne. 'Une version tardive de l'Énéas', in Glyn S. Burgess and Robert A. Taylor (eds.), *The Spirit of the Court*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 360–72.
- Trivedi, Harish. 'Translating Culture vs. Cultural Translation', 91st Meridian (May 2005). [http://iwp.uiowa.edu/91st/vol4\\_n1/trivedi/trivedi2.html](http://iwp.uiowa.edu/91st/vol4_n1/trivedi/trivedi2.html).
- Tylus, Jane. *Reclaiming Catherine of Siena: Literacy, Literature, and the Signs of Others*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Usher, Jonathan. 'Origins and Duecento: Prose', in C. P. Brand and Lino Pertile (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 31–3.
- 'A "ser" Cepparello Constructed from Dante Fragments (*Decameron* I,1)', *The Italianist* 23.2 (2003): 181–93.
- 'Boccaccio on Readers and Reading', *Heliotropa* 1.1 (2003).
- Vaccari, Alberto. 'La lettura della Bibbia alla vigilia della Riforma protestante', in Vaccari, *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*, vol. II. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1958, 376–90.
- Valerio, Giulia. 'La cronologia dei primi volgarizzamenti dell'*Enéide* e la diffusione della *Commedia*', *Medioevo Romanzo* 10 (1985): 3–18.
- Vance, Eugene. 'The Differing Seed', in Vance, *Marvelous Signals: Poetics and Sign Theory in the Middle Ages*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1986, 230–55.

- Varvaro, Alberto. 'Critica di testi classica e romanza', *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 45 (1970): 73–117.
- Vasoli, Cesare. 'Arte della memoria e predicazione', *Lettere italiane* 38 (1986): 478–99.
- Venuti, Lawrence. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Vieliard, Françoise. 'Le *Roman de Troie en prose* dans la version du ms. Rouen, Bibl. mun. O. 33. Membra disjeta d'un manuscrit plus ancien?' *Romania* 109 (1988): 502–39.
- Wallace, David. "'Whan she translated was": A Chaucerian Critique of the Petrarchan Academy', in Lee Patterson (ed.), *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain, 1380–1530*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, 156–215.
- Webb, Diana, ed. *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press / Penguin, 2007.
- Weinberger, Eliot. *Outside Stories 1987–1991*. New York: New Directions, 1992.
- Weinstein, Donald. *Saints and Society*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982.
- Wertis, Sandra Karaus. 'The Commentary of Bartolinus de Benincasa de Canulo on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*', *Viator* 10 (1979): 283–310.
- White, James Boyd. *Justice as Translation: An Essay in Cultural and Legal Criticism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Witt, Ronald. 'Brunetto Latini and the Italian Tradition of *Ars dictaminis*', *Stanford Italian Review* (1983): 5–24.
- 'What did Giovannino Read and Write? Literacy in Early Renaissance Florence', *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 6 (1995): 89–93.
- In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn. 'The Apple's Message: Some Post-Conquest Hagiographic Accounts of Textual Transmission', in Minnis (ed.), *Late-Medieval Religious Texts*, 39–53.
- Wogan-Browne, J., N. Watson, A. Taylor and R. Evans, eds. *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.
- Worley, Meg. 'Using the *Ormulum* to Redefine Vernacularity', in Somerset and Watson (eds.), *The Vulgar Tongue*, 19–30.
- Wright, Roger, ed. *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Zaggia, Massimo, and Matteo Ceriana. *I manoscritti illustrati delle 'Eroidi' ovidiane volgarizzate*. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1996.
- Zampieri, Adriana. 'Una primitiva redazione del volgarizzamento di Valerio Massimo', *Studi sul Boccaccio* 10 (1977–8): 21–41.
- Zamponi, Stefano. 'Manoscritti in volgare nei conventi dei frati Minori', in *Francescanesimo in volgare (secoli XIII–XIV)*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1997, 301–36.

- Zardin, Danilo. 'Mercato librario e letture devote nella svolta del Cinquecento tridentino: note in margine ad un inventario milanese di libri di monache', in N. Raponi and A. Turchini (eds.), *Stampa libri e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo*. Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1992, 135–246.
- Zarri, Gabriella. *Le sante vive: profezie di corte e devozione femminile tra '400 e '500*. Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990.
- Zetzel, James. *Marginal Scholarship and Textual Deviance: The Commentum Cornuti and the Early Scholia on Persius*. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2005.
- Zinelli, Fabio. "'Donde noi metremo lo primo in francescho': i proverbi tradotti dal francese ed il loro inserimento nelle sillogi bibliche", in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, 145–99.
- Zumthor, Paul. *Essai de poétique médiévale*. Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1972.



# Index

- Acocella, Marianonietta, 231  
 Adam, 23, 81, 141–2, 146, 156  
 Aegidius Romanus. *See* Giles of Rome  
 Agamben, Giorgio, 221  
 Ahern, John, 187  
 Albertanus of Brescia, 108  
 Albertazzi, Luigi, 206  
 Alberti, Antonio degli, 17  
 Alberti, Leon Battista, 2, 173  
 Alberto della Piagentina, 158  
 Albertus Magnus, 129, 151, 217  
 Alderotti, Taddeo, 51, 78, 131–2, 169, 171  
 Aldobrandino da Siena, 63, 75, 77  
 Alessio, Gian Carlo, 220  
 Alexis, Saint, 105  
 Alfie, Fabian, 48  
 Alfonso de Cartagena, 170–1  
 Alfonso X, 7, 223  
 Alfred, King, 7  
 Allaire, Gloria, 35, 199  
 Anastasio, Frate, 18–19  
 Andrea da Barberino, 167  
 Anonimo Genovese, 74  
 Anthony, Saint  
     life of, 114, 118–19, 136  
 anxiety of vernacularization, 4, 13, 15, 32, 103,  
     109, 160, 169  
*L'aquila volante*, 202  
 Aquilecchia, Giovanni, 183  
 Aquinas, Thomas, 112, 217  
 Arabic  
     translation from, 131, 170  
     translation into, 7  
 Ardissino, Erminia, 223  
 Ariosto, Ludovico, 71, 179  
 Aristotle, 51, 129, 131–2, 167, 169–71, 217, 221  
 Armour, Peter, 217  
 Arnulf of Orléans, 81  
*ars dictaminis*, 2, 220  
 Artifoni, Enrico, 180, 189  
 artisans, 4, 37–40  
 Ascoli, Albert, 10, 143, 146, 181, 193, 202, 216, 219,  
     220, 221, 222  
 Asperti, Stefano, 207 n29  
 Augustine, 46, 81, 126, 136  
 authority  
     conferred by commentary, 138  
     of ancient authors, 19, 46, 58, 93, 98, 115, 129,  
         141, 146, 151, 221  
     of commentators, 57, 129, 138  
     of contemporaries, 10, 11, 18, 90, 138, 158  
     of copyists, 47, 55  
     of exile, 165  
     of translators, 55, 138  
     of vernacular texts, 7, 11, 49, 63, 69, 88, 105,  
         138, 158  
 authorship, 11, 45–50, 55, 56, 59, 98, 161  
 Avalue, D'Arco Silvio, 194  
*Avengnia Dio*, 59  
 Avicenna, 152, 222  
 Avril, François, 205  
*L'avventuroso Ciciliano*, 202  
 Azzetta, Luca, 183, 187, 222  
 Babel, 141  
 Bachmann-Medick, Doris, 181  
 Baldan, Paolo, 36, 39  
 Baldassarri, Guido, 220  
 Baldassarri, Stefano, 172, 223, 224, 227, 228  
 Baldelli, Ignazio, 194, 199  
 Baldini, Rossella, 196  
 Baldwin, Spurgeon, 218  
 Balsamo, Jean, 70  
 Bambi, Federico, 187  
 Banchi, Luciano, 83  
 bankers, 1, 2, 4, 56, 113, 195  
 Barański, Zygmunt, 89, 180, 185, 202, 215, 222  
 Barbato, Marcello, 229  
 Barbi, Michele, 50  
 Barbieri, Edoardo, 205, 207  
 Barkan, Leonard, 220  
 Barolini, Teodolinda, 199

- Barrette, Paul, 218  
 Bartolo da Sassoferrato, 26  
 Bartolomeo da San Concordio, 56, 60–1, 111  
 Basil, Saint, 169  
 Bassnett, Susan, 181  
 Battaglia, Salvatore, 192  
 Bäuml, Franz, 20, 184  
 Beatrice, 138, 155  
 Bec, Christian, 166, 180, 206  
 Beccari, Antonio, 33  
 Bédier, Joseph, 47  
 Beer, Jeanette, 80  
 Belcari, Feo, 104, 122, 167  
     Life of Giovanni Colombini, 101, 102  
 Beltrami, Pietro, 79, 201, 218  
 Bembo, Pietro, 156  
 Benci, 166–7  
 Bénéteau, David, 62  
 Benjamin, Walter, 10, 15, 127–8, 157, 182  
 Benoît de Sainte-Maure, 14, 77, 89–99  
 Benvenuti Papi, Anna, 196  
 Benzo d'Alessandria, 95  
 Berengario di Donadio, 213  
 Beretta Spampinato, Margherita, 200  
 Berger, Samuel, 106–7  
 Bhabha, Homi, 181  
 Bible  
     authority of, 115  
     in education, 121  
     in *Fait des Romains*, 81  
     French, 77  
     as history, 77  
     in *Pharsale*, 86  
     reading, effects of, 135–6  
     as rhetorical text, 30  
     translation of, 5, 14, 27, 102–3, 104, 105–14, 117,  
     119, 129, 136  
 Billanovich, Giuseppe, 19, 64, 191  
 Biller, Peter, 207  
 Billotte, Denis, 203  
 Binduccio dello Scelto, 40, 96, 192  
 Biondo, Flavio, 172  
 Bird, Otto, 216  
 Birkenmajer, Aleksander, 226  
 Black, Robert, 120, 181, 184, 225  
 Bloch, Howard, 181, 193  
 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate, 180  
 Boccaccio, Giovanni  
     authorship, 11  
     Dante and, 8, 36–9, 40–1  
     Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro and, 66  
     female audience of, 27  
     humanist attitudes towards, 165  
     manuscript tradition of, 49  
     Petrarch and, 19, 40, 46, 159–63, 175  
     reception, 102  
     in Sacchetti, 17  
     vernacular translation and, 8–9, 11, 20–1,  
     23–4, 32, 36, 40–1, 46, 64, 67, 158  
     works  
         *Corbaccio*, 13, 34–5, 39–40, 42, 63  
         *Decameron*  
         (1.1), 15, 103, 123  
         (3.10), 42  
         (5.9), 18  
         (6.10), 35–6  
         (10.10), 15, 159  
         Author's Conclusion, 27  
         copyists of, 166  
         *Elegia di madonna Fiammetta*, 167  
         *Esposizioni sopra la Comedia di Dante*, 18, 37  
         *Filocolo*, 40, 42  
         *Filostrato*, 40, 167  
         *rime*, 37–9  
         *Teseida*, 40, 186  
         *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, 36–7  
         *Zibaldone Magliabechiano*, 18  
     works, Latin  
         translated into vernacular, 166  
     works, vernacular  
         translated into Latin, 104, 173  
 Boethius, 89, 102, 158  
 Boiardo, Matteo Maria, 179  
 Bolzoni, Lina, 112  
 Bonaventure, 45, 49  
 Boncompagno da Signa, 30  
 Borges, Jorge Luis, 10  
 Boswell, John, 218  
 Botley, Paul, 171, 226  
 Boyde, Patrick, 215  
 Boyle, Leonard, 208  
 Braidia, Antonella, 215  
 Branca, Vittore, 35, 166, 193  
 Brancati, Giovanni, 9–10, 177–8  
 Briggs, Charles, 181, 209  
 Brownlee, Kevin, 202  
 Brugnoli, Giorgio, 194  
 Brugnolo, Furio, 73, 199  
 Bruni, Francesco, 45, 125, 182, 203  
 Bruni, Leonardo, 7, 90, 129, 164, 167, 169–74,  
     175, 178, 221  
 Buonocore, Marco, 205  
 Burchiello, 102  
 Buridant, Claude, 3, 63, 212  
 Burke, Peter, 181  
 Busby, Keith, 97, 198, 199  
 Buti, Francesco, 221  
 Cacciaguیدا, 28, 127, 134, 137–40, 138–40, 145–6  
 Cachey, Theodore J., Jr, 191

- Caesar, 59–64, 79–83  
 Caffarini, Tommaso, 120–1  
 Calabretta, Antonio, 207 n28  
*cantari*, 41, 42, 44–5, 63  
 Capellanus, Andreas, 167  
 Cartagena. *See* Alfonso de Cartagena  
 Casagrande, Carla, 215  
 Casella, Maria Teresa, 64, 65, 67  
 Castellani, Arrigo, 180  
 Catharism. *See* heresy  
 Catherine of Siena, 120–1  
 Cato, 66  
 Cavalca, Domenico, 101, 112–16, 117–19, 126–7, 136  
 Cavalcanti, Guido, 27, 129, 167, 222  
 Ceffi, Filippo, 96–7, 223  
 Celenza, Christopher, 231  
 Cellerino, Liana, 182  
 Cepparello, 123  
 Cerquiglini, Bernard, 47  
*Certame coronario*, 228  
 Cestaro, Gary, 148, 218, 221  
 Charles I, Duke of Burgundy, 176  
 Charles of Anjou, 82, 88  
 Charles V, King of France, 7, 205, 223  
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 32, 49, 163–4  
 Cherchi, Paolo, 194  
 Chesney, Kathleen, 203  
 Chiamenti, Massimiliano, 215, 219, 221  
 Chiavacci Leonardi, Annamaria, 221  
 Christ, 117, 122, 135–6, 153  
 Ciappelletto. *See* Cepparello  
 Ciccuto, Marcello, 199, 218  
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius  
   in Boccaccio, 35  
   *De inventione*, 31, 52–3, 56, 134, 138, 143–4  
   humanists and, 17, 31  
   in Jerome, 216  
   instead of Christ, 135–6  
   Leonardo Bruni and, 173  
   orations, 52, 54, 60–1, 63, 108, 167, 173  
   *Somnium Scipionis*, 183  
   as translator, 129  
   vernacular versions of, 15, 168, 183  
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius (pseudo)  
   *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 52, 56–9, 167  
 Cigni, Fabrizio, 199  
 Cino da Pistoia, 77  
 Ciociola, Claudio, 195  
 Cipolla, Fra, 35–6  
 Clanchy, Michael, 207  
 Clare of Montefalco, 119–20  
 Clarenò, Angelo, 116, 119  
 Climacus, John, 116  
 Cogan, Marc, 222  
 Colomb De Batines, Paul, 183  
 Colombini, Giovanni, 101, 102, 103, 117, 122  
 Colonna, Giovanni, 66  
*Commedia*, 11  
 commentary, 117, 139, 144  
   Brunetto Latini's prophecy requiring, 138–9  
   conferring authority, 138  
   *Convivio as*, 131, 138  
   on Dante, 18, 37, 158, 202  
   in humanist education, 168  
   as translation, 3, 111, 131  
   translation requiring, 129–30  
   vernacular translation as, 5–7, 20, 69, 104, 116–17  
   versus translation, 57, 176  
 Compagni, Dino, 26  
 conflation, textual, 53  
 Constans, Léopold, 90, 203  
 contamination, textual, 50, 52–3, 55, 60–4, 97, 98, 99, 108, 123, 224  
*Conti morali senesi*, 51  
 Contini, Gianfranco, 79, 209  
 Cooper, Christine, 119  
 Copeland, Rita, 6, 10, 164, 181, 193, 208  
 copyists  
   of authoritative texts, 5, 46, 47, 91, 107–8  
   Catherine of Siena, 120–1  
   Cicero, 60  
   of commentaries, 6  
   Dante, 138  
   Dares and Dictys, 93, 98  
   Fra Cipolla, 35  
   French, 64  
   Giovanni Rucellai, 166  
   humanist, 104, 116  
   Lapo di Neri Corsini, 87  
   Lucas Boni, 96  
   as makers of books, 45–56  
   of other vernaculars, 74–5, 78, 82, 86, 95–9  
   as readers, 46  
   suspicion of, 46, 87  
   as translators, 3  
   of vernacular texts, 13, 45, 47–56, 113  
   of vernacular translations, 2, 6, 10, 12, 21, 43, 48–56, 59–64, 104, 110–11  
   women, 27  
 Cornish, Alison, 187, 216, 221  
 Cornutus, 69  
 corruption, textual, 28, 43, 45, 52, 60, 103, 110, 125, 141, 168  
 Corsini  
   Lapo di Neri, 59–64, 66, 67, 85–6, 87  
   Neri, 59  
 Coseriu, Eugenio, 227  
 Costantini, Aldo Maria, 182  
 Cox, Virginia, 56, 144, 220

- Cristofano da Toscanella, 116–17  
 Critchley, John, 199  
 Croce, Benedetto, 123  
 cultural translation studies, 3
- D'Agostino, Alfonso, 50, 189, 194,  
     199, 218  
 d'Ascoli, Cecco, 167  
 d'Este  
     Ercole, 176, 179  
     Isabella, 101  
     Leonello, 178  
     Niccolò, 84, 166  
 da Montefeltro  
     Bonconte, 124  
     Federico, 228  
 da Polenta, Ostagio, 20, 23  
 da Strada, Zanobi, 183  
 Dalarun, Jacques, 103, 207  
 Daniel, Arnaut, 44, 73  
 Dante Alighieri  
     appropriation of authority, 10  
     audience, 11  
     authorship, 11, 49  
     Boccaccio and, 18, 36–9, 40–1  
     Brunetto Latini and, 125, 126–57  
     Brunetto Latini in, 15  
     Bruni and, 172  
     commentary on, 18  
     Dominicans and, 112  
     Franciscans and, 33, 112  
     German translations of, 70–1  
     Giacomo Lentini and, 27  
     Guido da Messina and, 89  
     harangue, 30  
     humanist attitudes towards, 164–6  
     illiterate readers of, 25  
     in Sacchetti, 17, 41–2, 44, 47  
     in vernacular memory books, 167  
     manuscript tradition, 51  
     Occitan poetry and, 73  
     on Livy's authority, 19  
     on the vernacular, 8, 27, 28, 127, 174  
     Petrarch and, 40–1  
     reception, 83, 102, 165, 167, 173  
     *Roman de la Rose* and, 88–9  
     textual criticism of, 49, 54  
     vernacular translation and, 8, 10, 126–57,  
         158–9, 164, 175  
 works  
     'Garisenda', 203  
     *Convivio*, 22, 33, 36, 76, 83, 119, 126,  
         128–33, 140–1, 142, 146, 148,  
         152–3, 155, 156, 160, 167,  
         169, 175
- De vulgari eloquentia*, 43, 76–8, 107, 108,  
     141, 146, 148, 156  
*Eglogue*, 34  
*Fiore*, 14, 88–9, 157  
*Inferno*  
     (15), 133, 135, 137, 144, 154  
     (2), 155  
     (23), 146  
     (5), 42, 75, 77, 124  
*Paradiso*  
     (14–18), 28, 134, 137–40, 145  
     (26), 141–2, 156  
*Purgatorio*  
     (3), 124  
     (5), 124  
     (6–7), 73  
     (11), 203n  
     (20–22), 125, 147–51, 164  
     (21), 125  
     (24), 27, 151–2  
     (25), 151–3  
     (26), 28, 44, 73, 151, 153–6, 165  
*Vita nova*, 27, 50, 119, 141, 156
- Dante Alighieri (pseudo)  
     'Credo', 33–4, 111  
 Dares, 51, 90–5, 98–9  
 Dati, Gregorio, 167  
 Datini, Francesco, 102  
 David of Augsburg (pseudo), 207  
 Davis, Charles, 220  
 De Blasi, Nicola, 205  
 de Lorris, Guillaume, 48  
 De Luca, Giuseppe, 103, 180, 206  
 de Man, Paul, 215  
 De Medici, Giuliana, 222  
 de Meun, Jean, 14, 32, 48  
 De Petris, Alfonso, 227  
 De Poerck, Guy, 207  
*De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus*. See *Quattro  
     virtù morali*
- De Robertis Boniforti, Teresa, 2, 202  
 De Robertis, Domenico, 45, 193  
 De Visiani, Roberto, 197  
 de' Medici  
     Giovanni, 102  
 de' Medici, Lorenzo, 8, 102, 174, 175  
 de' Cerchi, Umiliana, 121  
 Decembrio, Angelo, 178  
 degli Albanzani, Donato, 225  
 degli Uberti, Fazio, 167  
 degli Ugurgieri, Ciampolo, 183  
 Delcorno Branca, Daniela, 199  
 Delcorno, Carlo, 27, 101, 112, 113, 121,  
     190, 209  
 Della Giovanna, Ildebrando, 198

- delle Colonne, Guido, 14, 90  
 Deloc, Daniel, 76  
 Di Ninni, Franca, 86  
 Dictys, 90–5, 98  
   as copyist, 98  
 Dietaiuti, Cepparello, 125  
 diglossia, 172–3, 175, 178  
 Dino del Garbo, 129, 222  
 Dinshaw, Carolyn, 160  
 Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro, 66, 67  
 Dionisotti, Carlo, 40, 41, 72, 203, 229  
*Disticha Catonis*, 108  
 Domenichi, Coppo di Borghese, 13, 16–20,  
   23, 24, 29, 30, 38, 39, 40, 42, 158  
 Domenico da Prato, 164  
 domestication, 173, 178  
 Dronke, Peter, 189  
 Durling, Robert, 218, 221  
 Durrieu, Paul, 88
- education, 4, 5, 9, 21, 22, 31, 32, 104, 112, 120, 121,  
   143, 168, 174  
 embryology, 127, 151–3, 165  
 English  
   potential audience of *Convivio*, 129  
 Eusebi, Mario, 199  
 Eusebius of Caesarea, 129, 160
- Faba, Guido, 2  
 Faidit, Uc, 73  
 Faiq, Said, 181  
*Fait des Romains*, 14, 61, 72, 77, 79–83, 84–7, 99  
 Fanfani, Pietro, 187, 223  
*Farsaglia in ottava rima*, 202  
*Fatti dei Romani*, 13, 14, 52, 59–64, 59–64, 66, 68,  
   79, 80, 82, 85–6, 108  
*Fatti di Cesare*. See *Fatti dei Romani*  
 Fazio degli Uberti, 167  
   *Dittamondo*, 202  
 Fenzi, Enrico, 217  
 Fera, Vincenzo, 193  
 Ferdinand of Naples, 175, 176, 177, 178  
 Ferguson, Charles, 228  
 Ferrante, Don. See Ferdinand of Naples  
 Ficino, Marsilio, 102  
 Fido, Franco, 214  
 Filippo di Novara, 75  
*Fiore d'Italia*, 202  
*Fiore di retorica*. See Giamboni  
*Fiori di filosofia*, 50  
*Fiorita*, 202  
 Flavius Josephus, 81  
 Flutré, Louis-Fernand, 80, 82, 83, 194  
 Folena, Gianfranco, 1, 7, 172, 180, 183, 195, 199,  
   223, 227, 228
- Folquet de Marseille, 73  
 Foote, David, 187  
 foreignization, 5, 9, 172, 175, 177, 178  
 Formentin, Vincenzo, 225  
*Formula honeste vite*. See *Quattro virtù morali*  
 Fragnito, Gigliola, 109  
 Francesca, 42, 75, 124  
 Francesco da Barberino, 13  
 Francis of Assisi, 72  
 franco-italian, 10, 14, 83–7  
 franco-veneto. See franco-italian  
 Franzese, Musciatto, 123–5  
 Frassinetti, Paolo, 203  
 Frazier, Alison, 104  
 Freccero, John, 151, 218, 219, 221  
 Frederick II. See Hohenstaufen  
 Frederick of Aragon, 176  
 French  
   borrowing in Latin, 170  
   *Chanson de Roland*, 86  
   *chansons de geste*, 71, 85, 87  
   dominance of, 12, 13–14, 70, 88  
   Italian copyists of, 74–5  
   Italian performers of, 44–5, 72  
   Italian readers of, 13–14, 42, 73, 75,  
     77, 177  
   Italian writers of, 51, 75–9, 78–9, 127,  
     134, 142–3  
   *Roman de la Rose*, 87–9  
   romances, 42, 64, 74–5, 77, 80, 81, 87,  
     89–99, 179  
   textual criticism, 47–8, 49  
   translation into, 10, 79–83, 123, 125, 132  
   translations from, 2, 12, 13–14, 19, 22, 51, 52,  
     59–64, 66, 70–100, 108, 157, 163, 223  
   Bible, 106–8  
 Frick, Carole Collier, 187  
 Fumagalli, Edoardo, 179, 231
- Gagliardi, Isabella, 206  
 Garzoni, Giovanni, 104  
 Gasca Queirazza, Giuliano, 207  
 Gaunt, Simon, 194, 198, 199  
 Gehl, Paul, 181, 184, 225  
 Genette, Gérard, 104  
 Gentile da Foligno, 116  
 Gentili, Sonia, 131, 194, 220  
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 81  
 German, 10  
   borrowing in Latin, 170  
   potential audience of *Convivio*, 129  
   translation into, 70–1, 106  
 Getto, Giovanni, 214  
 Giamboni, Bono, 56, 89  
   commentator, III

- Giamboni, Bono, (cont.)  
     *Fiore di rettorica*, 21–2, 30, 31, 52–3  
     *Libro de' vizi e delle virtudi*, 50, 209  
     possible translator of *Tresor*, 218  
 Giannini, Gabriele, 74  
 Gigli, Girolamo, 120  
 Giles of Rome, 13, 22, 51  
 Gill, Katherine, 188  
 Gilson, Simon, 175, 191, 192, 224, 225, 227, 228  
 Ginsberg, Warren, 221  
 Giordano da Rivalto da Pisa, 27, 112, 113–14,  
     121–2, 188  
 Giotto, 28, 168  
 Giovanni da Salerno, 27  
 Giovanni de' Bonsignori, 223  
 Giovanni del Virgilio, 34  
 Goody, Jack, 207  
 Gorni, Guglielmo, 222, 228  
 Gorra, Egidio, 90, 205  
 Goullet, Monique, 104  
 Gousset, Marie-Thérèse, 205  
 Gozzi, Maria, 40, 192, 205  
 Gravelle, Sarah Stever, 231  
 Grayson, Cecil, 221  
 Greek  
     borrowing in Latin, 170  
     translation from, 7, 8, 15, 17, 92, 93,  
         98, 116, 119, 129, 131, 159, 169,  
         173, 174  
     translation into, 169  
     versus Latin, 173  
 Greetham, David, 194  
 Gregory, bishop of Utrecht, 208  
 Gregory, Saint, 114–16  
 Grendler, Paul, 181, 184, 225  
 Griffiths, Gordon, 224, 226  
 Griselda, 15, 159–64, 175  
 Groppi, Felicina, 215  
 Grosseteste, Robert, 226  
 Gualdo, Riccardo, 225  
 Guarino, Battista, 168  
 Guenée, Bernard, 80–2, 83  
 Guido da Messina. *See* Guido delle Colonne  
 Guido da Pisa, 167  
 Guido delle Colonne  
     *Historia destructionis Troiae*, 89–99  
 Guidotto da Bologna, 22, 31, 52, 58  
 Guimbard, Catherine, 186  
 Guinizelli, Guido, 88, 127, 156  
     in Dante, 153–6  
 Gulhelm de Montanhagol, 98  
 Guthmüller, Bodo, 184, 223  
 hagiography, 14, 101, 103–5, 111, 117, 118–19, 121  
 Hankins, James, 226  
 Hanna, Ralph, 181, 205, 223  
 Hannibal, 24  
 harangue, 30, 56, 112  
 Harrison, Robert, 89  
 Hauvette, Henri, 71  
 Havely, Nicholas, 193  
 Hawkins, Peter, 217  
 Hebrew, 141  
 Heijkant, Marie-José, 199  
 heresy  
     Catharism, 109  
     Dominicans against, 112  
     translation and, 103, 105–6, 106–7  
     Waldensianism, 105, 106, 109  
 Herman the German, 131  
 Hermann, Julius, 205  
 Herodotus, 179  
*Historia destructionis Troiae*. *See* Guido delle  
     Colonne  
 Hohenstaufen  
     Frederick II, 73, 75, 76, 82, 108, 221  
     Henry VI, 73  
     Manfred, 52, 82, 124  
 Hollander, Robert, 221  
 Holloway, Julia Bolton, 220  
 Holsinger, Bruce, 217  
 Homer, 90, 91, 129–30, 156, 159, 160  
 Horace, 45, 141, 161, 217  
 Hortis, Attilio, 183  
 Hsia, Ronnie Po-chia, 181  
 Hudson, Anne, 208  
 Hugutio of Pisa, 181, 184  
 Hult, David, 194  
 humanist  
     abandonment of vernacularization, 32, 100, 157  
     attitudes towards Dante, 149  
     educational programme, 168  
     hagiography, 15, 101, 104, 123  
     Livy, 19  
     movement inspired by Petrarch, 17  
     philology, 14  
     textual editing, 46, 60  
     translation, 7, 15, 32, 158  
     vernacular readership, 165–8  
     vernacular translation, 15, 102, 116, 167  
 Huot, Sylvia, 48  
 Ianziti, Gary, 228  
 Ibbett, Katherine, 207  
 illiteracy, defined, 20  
 illiterate readers, 119–20  
     Anthony, 118  
     as audience, 22, 24–5, 28, 31, 34, 36–40, 56,  
         84, 92, 103, 110, 114, 122, 126, 131, 132,  
         139, 175

- Catherine of Siena, 120–1  
 Coppo di Borghese Domenichi, 8, 20–4  
 Dante, 164  
 desert fathers, 126  
 documentary culture of, 2, 6, 31  
 Giovanni Colombini, 101  
 heresy and, 105–6  
 humanists and, 165, 167, 168, 172, 174, 177, 178  
 intractability of, 21–2, 57  
 Mary of Egypt, 117, 121  
 miracles of translation for, 15, 119–23  
 presuming to teach, 113  
 in Sacchetti, 24  
 suspicion of, 4, 5, 9, 13, 23, 24, 29, 32, 33  
 theme of, 117–23  
 women, 22
- Infurna, Marco, 202  
*L'intelligenza*, 202  
 Isidore of Seville, 51, 81  
*Istoriotta troiana*, 40, 96, 97
- Jacopo della Lana, 202  
 Jakobson, Roman, 224  
 Jerome, 27, 119, 129, 135–6, 160  
 Jesuates. *See* Colombini  
 Johnson, Lesley, 224  
 Jung, Marc-René, 95, 201
- Kaborycha, Lisa, 206  
 Kallendorf, Craig, 225  
 Kay, Richard, 218, 220  
 Kay, Sarah, 194, 198  
 Kelly, Douglas, 100, 181, 193, 205  
 Kendrick, Robert, 228  
 Kennedy, Elspeth, 64, 194  
 Kent, Francis William, 225  
 Kovesi Killerby, Catherine, 28, 186, 187  
 Kristal, Efrain, 182  
 Kristeller, Paul Oskar, 171
- Lachmann, Karl, 46, 47, 50, 53, 108  
 Lamarque, Henri, 224  
 Lancelot, 42, 64, 74–5, 77, 124  
 Lancia, Andrea  
   marginal glosses on Dante, 158  
   notary, 26, 32  
   *Ottimo Commento*, 18, 158  
   translator of *Aeneid*, 18–19, 25, 40, 158  
   translator of Ovid, 32, 40, 158  
   translator of sumptuary law, 25–6, 28  
 Landino, Cristoforo, 10, 156, 175–8, 222  
 Lanza, Antonio, 228  
 Latin  
   as natural language, 174
- Latini, Brunetto  
   commentator, 111  
   in Dante, 10, 15, 125, 126–57  
   notary, 26  
   on notaries, 26  
   reception, 167  
   rhetoric and government, 31  
   translator, 15, 52, 54, 61, 63, 89, 108, 127, 173  
   works  
   *Rettorica*, 31, 50, 56, 134, 138, 143–4  
   *Tesoretto*, 79, 108, 133, 134, 137  
   *Tesoro*, 51, 61, 75, 78, 108, 132, 133, 134, 143  
   *Tresor*, 14, 26, 31, 51, 56, 61, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78–9, 81–2, 83, 108, 132, 134, 142  
   writing in French, 15, 75, 78–9  
*Le Battaglie e Vittorie di Ciesere*, 202
- Lefevre, André, 181  
 Lentini, Giacomo, 27, 73  
 Leonardi, Lino, 103, 107, 108, 111, 188, 207, 208  
 Lepschy, Giulio, 180  
 Lesnick, Daniel, 209  
 Lethe, 154  
*Libro della storia di Troia*. *See* Binduccio dello Scelto  
*Libro di costumanza*, 51  
*Libro imperiale*, 202  
 linguistic dress, 53–5  
 Lippi Bigazzi, Vanna, 197, 222  
*Lives of the Desert Fathers*, 101, 103  
 Livy  
   authority of, 19  
   humanist attitudes towards, 165  
   Leonardo Bruni and, 173  
   medieval readership of, 19, 46  
   Petrarch and, 8, 46  
   philological reconstruction of, 13  
   vernacular translations of, 8–9  
   vernacular versions of, 11, 16–18, 19–20, 23–4, 29, 36, 40, 43, 46, 49, 64, 68, 158, 168  
   vernacular writer, 178
- Lo Monaco, Francesco, 228  
 Lollardy, 14, 208  
 Looney, Dennis, 179  
 Lovati, Lovato, 19, 44–5, 47, 48, 63, 73, 86  
 Lucan, 49, 59–64, 79–83  
 Lucretius, 46  
 Ludovico il Moro, 179  
 Luongo, Salvatore, 202  
 Luongo, Thomas, 121  
 Lusignan, Serge, 205  
 Luther, Martin, 172  
 Lynde-Recchia, Molly, 202

- Maas, Paul, 50, 53  
 Machiavelli, Niccolò, 8  
 Macrobius, 33  
 Maggini, Francesco, 17, 50, 54, 194, 196, 219, 228  
 Malatesta, Battista, 169  
 Manetti, Giannozzo, 171, 227  
 manuscripts  
   Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Hamilton 67, 59–64  
   Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 10, 202  
   Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana  
     Acquisti e doni 418, 66  
     Ashburnham 526, 66–7  
     Ashburnham 1234, 202  
     Gaddiano 18, 183  
     Plut. 73.47, 59, 63  
   Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale  
     II.I.39, 158  
     B.R. 50, 18  
     Conv. Soppr. Cl. 1588, 190  
     Magliabechiana II.60, 183  
     Magliabechiana II.62, 183  
     Palatino 459, 66–7  
     Palatino 762, 65, 66–8  
     Panciatichiano 58, 66–8  
     vernacular before 1350, 1–2  
   Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana  
     1011, 190  
     1538, 108  
     2418, 59–64  
     1787, 208  
   London, British Library Harley 2493, 19  
   Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana Sala Prefetto  
     13 bis, 27  
   Milan, Trivulziano 1080, 54  
   Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine H 438, 202  
   Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Française  
     fr. 726, 205  
     fr. 782 min, 205  
     ital. 617, 98  
     Lat. 7880, 223  
   Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense 424, 231  
   Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati  
     S.IV.11, 223  
   Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana  
     Barberiniani latini 3953, 98  
     Barberiniani latini 3970, 211  
     Chigiani L.VI.210, 217  
     Chigiani L.VII.249, 108  
     Ferraoli 559, 66  
     Ottoboniani latini 2054, 227  
     Reginensi latini 1505, 205  
     Vaticani latini 3793, 27, 73  
   Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek  
     2571, 205  
   Marchesi, Concetto, 65, 78, 197, 217  
   Marchesi, Simone, 183, 192  
   Marco Polo, 75  
   Marcozzi, Luca, 37, 193  
   Marc-René, 203  
   Marcus Antony, 173  
   Marcus, Penny, 214  
   Marroni, Sergio, 62–3, 194  
   Marsh, David, 228  
   Martin da Canal, 75, 76  
   Martin of Braga.  
   Martinez, Ronald L., 198, 218, 221  
   Marucci, Valerio, 32  
   Mary, Virgin, 153  
   Mary of Burgundy, 176  
   Mary of Egypt, 101, 102, 117–18, 121  
   Marzi, Demetrio, 186  
   Mascheroni, Carla, 194, 217  
   Mazzocco, Angelo, 200  
   Mazzotta, Giuseppe, 143, 214, 221  
   McLaughlin, Martin, 222, 223, 224, 228  
   Meek, Mary, 94  
   Melani, Silvio, 199  
   Memoriali bolognesi, 2, 203 n71  
   memory, 56–9, 111, 169  
   memory books, 166–7  
   mendicants. *See* Cavalca  
     in Boccaccio, 35–6, 123  
     Dominicans, 105–6, 107, 109, 111–16,  
       117–19, 126–7  
     Franciscans, 33, 112, 116  
       Angelo Clareno, 116  
     Friar Anastasius, 18  
     Gentile da Foligno, 116  
     as preachers, 121  
     as translators, 2, 7, 14, 114, 116  
   Mengaldo, Pier Vincenzo, 77  
   merchants  
     as audience, 4, 37–40, 113, 176  
     as copyists, 1, 2, 166, 195  
     as readers, 1, 101  
     documentary culture of, 2  
     Francesco Datini, 102  
     Francis of Assisi, 72  
     Giovanni Colombini, 101, 122  
     Lapo di Neri Corsini, 61, 87  
     literacy of, 56, 225  
     Musciatto Franzese, 123  
     Peter Waldo, 105  
     residing in France, 74  
   Mertens, Thom, 188  
   Meun, Jean de, 88–9  
   Meyer, Paul, 71, 81  
   Milanesi, Carla, 223  
   Millet, Bella, 105, 194



- Milner, Stephen, 180, 189, 195  
 Minnis, Alastair, 32, 111, 194, 203, 205, 208, 209  
 miracle, translation as, 119–23  
*Miracole de Roma*, 31, 54  
 Mondino di Liuzzi, 222  
 Monfrin, Jacques, 180, 198  
 Moore, Edward, 183  
 Moore, R. I., 207  
 Moorman, John, 211  
 Morabito, Raffaele, 224  
*Moralités des philosophes*, 51  
*Moralium dogma philosophorum*. See *Moralités des philosophes*  
 Morf, Heinrich, 205  
 Morosini, Roberta, 193  
 Morpurgo, Salomone, 59  
 Morse, Ruth, 193  
*La Morte di Cesare per rima*, 202  
*mouvance*, 47–8, 49  
 Mulchahey, Michèle, 209  
 Muscetta, Carlo, 17  
 music, 102, 103, 129–30, 130–1  
 Mussafia, Adolfo, 194, 218  
 Muzzarelli, Maria Giuseppina, 188
- Nardi, Bruno, 151, 152, 221  
 Nardone, Jean-Luc, 224  
 nationalism, 7–8, 10, 15, 71, 76, 156, 159, 164, 174–8  
 Negroni, Carlo, 213  
 Nepos, Cornelius, 90, 92–5, 97  
 Niccoli, Niccolò, 149  
 Niccolò da Verona, 14, 83, 84–7  
 Nimrod, 141  
 notaries  
   Andrea Lancia, 18, 26, 32  
   Brunetto Latini, 15, 26  
   as copyists, 1, 2, 195  
   Giacomo Lentini, 27  
   as producers of literature, 6, 73  
   as readers, 1  
   in Sacchetti, 25–7  
   as sodomites, 125  
   as translators, 2, 6, 7, 26, 131
- Novalis, 3  
 Novati, Francesco, 73, 83, 209  
*Novellino*, 13, 32
- obsolescence of vernacular translation, 9–10, 156  
 Occitan, 14, 27, 70, 71, 73–4, 77, 98, 139, 141, 155  
 Oderisi da Gubbio, 203  
 Odofredo, 30, 72  
 Oedipus, 71  
 Oppian law. See sumptuary law  
 Orosius, Paul, 66, 81  
 Ottimo Commento, 18, 158
- Ovid  
*Ars amatoria*, 32, 40, 158  
*Heroides*, 27, 40, 205  
 in *Historia destructionis Troiae*, 91  
*Metamorphoses*, 40, 223  
*Remedia amoris*, 158  
 vernacular versions of, 11, 40, 158  
 Owen Hughes, Diane, 28, 186, 187
- Padoan, Giorgio, 214  
 Palermo, Massimo, 225  
 Palmieri, Matteo, 167–8  
 Panfilo, 124  
 Paolella, Alfonso, 225  
 Papanti, Giovanni, 190  
 Papini, Gianni, 62  
 paraphrase. See commentary  
 Parodi, Ernesto, 40, 196, 199, 202, 203, 223  
 Pasiphae, 154  
 Pasquali, Giorgio, 50  
 Passavanti, Jacopo, 109–10, 111  
 Patschovsky, Alexander, 207  
 Patterson, Lee, 49  
 Paul the Deacon, 51  
 Paul, Saint, 114  
 Pearsall, Derek, 194  
 Peraldus, William, 126  
 Pernicone, Vincenzo, 40  
 Perosa, Alessandro, 166, 225  
 Persius, 69  
 Perugi, Maurizio, 40, 205  
 Peter Comestor, 81  
 Petrarca, Francesco. See Petrarch  
 Petrarch  
   authorship, 11, 49  
   between Dante and Boccaccio, 36–9  
   Boccaccio and, 40, 46, 159–63  
   Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro and, 66  
   disdain for vernacular, 8, 11, 173  
   Livy and, 8, 19, 46, 64  
   manuscript tradition of, 49  
   reception, 17, 102, 164, 165, 166  
   textual editing, 46  
   translation and, 15, 159, 166, 167  
   works  
     *Africa*, 46  
     *Familiares*  
       (10.4), 37  
       (18.3), 19, 46  
       (21.15), 41, 48  
     *Seniles*  
       (2.1), 46  
       (16.1), 159  
       (17.3), 160–2  
       (17.4), 162

- Petrucchi, Armando, 2, 60, 180, 206  
 Pézard, André, 142  
*Pharsale*. See *Niccolò da Verona*  
 Philip Augustus, 80, 81  
 Philippe Auguste. See Philip Augustus  
 philology, 174  
   humanist, 15, 174  
   on Italian vernacular translations, 12  
   new, 48  
   *nuova filologia*, 48, 50  
   Petrarch's role, 46  
   reconstruction of Livy, 13, 41  
   textual criticism, 107  
   textual editing, 46–56  
   vernacular translation and, 8–10, 11, 62, 159  
   versus vernacularization, 8, 11, 12, 43, 106  
 Picone, Michelangelo, 32, 199  
 Pilate, Leontius, 159  
 Plato, 135  
 Plautus, 135  
 Pliny, 10, 175–8  
 Plutarch, 169, 173  
 Polenton, Sicco, 20  
 Pollidori, Valentina, 111  
 Pollock, Sheldon, 4, 6, 7, 223  
 Polo, Marco, 167  
 Polybius, 174  
 Polydorus, 149  
 Pomaro, Gabriella, 222  
 Ponte, Giovanni, 231  
 Porta, Giuseppe, 225  
 Pquigney, Joseph, 217  
 preaching, 2, 7, 14, 27, 35–6, 103, 109, 111–14, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 166  
 Psaki, Regina, 199  
 Pucci, Antonio, 32, 166, 167  
 Pugliese Carratelli, Giovanni, 230  
 Pulci, Luigi, 102  
 Punzi, Arianna, 95, 96, 203  
 Pym, Anthony, 109  
  
 Quaglio, Antonio, 194  
*Quattro virtù morali*, 51  
 Quintilian, 35  
  
 Raffaele da Verona, 83–4  
 Raymond of Capua, 120–1  
 Rebhorn, Wayne, 222  
 religious translation, 14–15, 101  
 Renner, Frederick, 172  
 Renzi, Lorenzo, 198, 202  
 rewriting, 45, 49, 63, 95, 99, 104, 174  
 Reynolds, L. D., 194  
 Rezzi, Luigi Maria, 228  
  
 rhetoric  
   of Bible, 30, 108, 109  
   in Boccaccio, 34–5, 123  
   in Brunetto Latini, 61, 134, 143–4  
   in Dante, 151  
   in education, 81, 104  
   *Fiore di rettorica*, 13, 21–2, 52, 56–9  
   harangue, 2, 30  
   humanist, 17, 31, 170, 174  
   Italian privileging of, 2, 56, 72, 78, 109  
   in preaching, 112  
   vernacular readership of, 11, 12, 30–2  
   women and, 28, 34  
*Rhetorica ad Herennium*. See Cicero  
 Ricci, Pier Giorgio, 191  
 Riccobaldo, 179  
 Richards, Earl Jeffrey, 198, 203  
 Rinuccini, Cino, 165–6  
 Rizzi, Andrea, 232  
 Rizzo, Silvia, 225, 228  
 Robinson, J. H., 207  
*Roman de la Rose*, 14, 48, 72  
*Roman de Troie*. See Benoît de Sainte-Maure  
 Roman history, 5, 12, 13, 16, 24, 31, 56, 59–68, 72, 77, 79–83, 108, 173–4  
 Roncaglia, Aurelio, 74, 86, 199  
 Ronchi, Gabriella, 194, 201  
 Rosenstein, Roy, 194  
 Rossi, Luciano, 88, 182, 215  
 Rouse, Mary and Richard, 68, 194  
 Rucellai, Giovanni, 166  
 Rushdie, Salman, 181  
 Russo, Luigi, 214  
 Rustichello da Pisa, 75, 77  
  
 Sabbadini, Remigio, 227  
 Sacchetti, Franco, 193  
   Dante in, 165  
   *Rime*, 17, 37  
   *Sposizioni*, 30  
   *Trecentonovelle*  
     (114), 13, 41–2, 44, 47, 48, 63  
     (115), 13, 41–2, 47, 48  
     (136), 28  
     (137), 25–6, 28, 29  
     (66), 8, 13, 16–19, 24, 29, 30, 38, 40, 43  
   prologue, 32  
 Sallust, 59–64, 79–83, 92, 108, 168  
 Salutati, Coluccio, 169, 223  
 Sanok, Catherine, 104  
*Scala del Paradiso*, 116, See *Scala Paradisi*  
*Scala Paradisi*, 119  
 Scarsella, Alessandro, 232  
 Schlegel, August Wilhelm, 3  
 Schnapp, Jeffrey, 138

- Schneider, Jakob Hans Josef, 196  
 Scott, Alexander, 111, 209  
*Secretum Secretorum*, 167  
 Segre, Cesare, 2, 50, 80, 99, 180, 194, 199, 201, 202, 203, 212, 220, 223  
 Seneca, 51, 75  
 Sforza, Caterina, 179  
 Shapiro, Marianne, 221  
 Sicilian poetry, 73–4, 89  
 Simone da Cascia, 27  
 Singleton, Charles, 221  
 Smarr, Janet, 193  
 Smith, Julia, 109  
 sodomy, 15, 35, 125, 127, 128, 133, 142–4, 153  
 Solomon, 51  
 Somerset, Fiona, 181  
 Sontag, Susan, 12, 180, 182  
 Sordello, 73  
 Spanish, 10, 70, 170, 171  
 Speer, Mary, 194  
 Speroni, Giambattista, 52, 56, 184, 194  
 Spiegel, Gabrielle, 80, 82  
 Staccioli, Giuliano, 196  
 Statius, 125, 127, 147–53, 164  
*Thebaid*, 150  
 Steinberg, Justin, 48, 180, 195  
 Steiner, George, 10, 182  
 Stephen of Bourbon, 105–6  
 Stock, Brian, 184, 207  
*Storie de Troia e de Roma*, 31, 51, 54  
 Sturion, Maria, 121  
 Stussi, Alfredo, 195  
 Suetonius, 59–64, 79–83  
 sumptuary law, 5, 13, 16, 18, 24–6, 28, 29, 160  
 Sundby, Thor, 220  
 Sybil, 219  
 Taddeo da Pisa, 75  
 Tanturli, Giuliano, 9, 19, 64–8, 167, 183, 186, 191, 220, 228  
 Tavelli da Tossignano, Giovanni, 102  
 Tavoni, Mirko, 166, 225, 228  
 Terence, 165  
 Terracini, Benvenuto, 4, 7, 70, 99  
 Terramagnino da Pisa, 73  
 textual criticism, 11, 60, 63, 69, 123  
 textual editing, 46–56, 107  
 Thomas, Antoine, 202  
 Tommasino delle Querce, 202  
*translatio imperii et studii*, 3, 99, 156  
 translation miracles, 15, 103  
*Trattato di virtù morali*. See *Libro di costumanza*  
 Triaud, Annie, 48  
 Tristan, 42, 51, 64, 74–5, 98, 167  
 Trivedi, Harish, 3, 181  
 troubadours, 105  
 Turpin, 179  
 Tylus, Jane, 120–1  
 Ugurgieri, Ciampòlo di Meo degli, 158  
 Usher, Jonathan, 124, 193, 202  
 Valerio, Giulia, 183  
 Valerius Maximus, 9, 11, 13, 40, 64–8, 158, 159, 165, 166  
 Valla, Lorenzo, 174, 179  
 Vance, Eugene, 142  
 Varagine, Jacopo da, 135  
 Varvaro, Alberto, 194  
 Vasoli, Cesare, 209  
 Vecchio, Silvana, 215  
 Vecellio, Cesare, 28  
 Vegetius, 89  
 Venuti, Lawrence, 12  
 Vico, Romana Martorelli, 222  
 Vidal, Raimon, 73  
 Villani, Filippo, 223  
 Villani, Giovanni, 19, 21, 24, 31, 167, 202  
 Virgil  
*Aeneid*, 18–19, 25, 40, 125, 147–9, 156, 158, 164, 167  
 in Dante, 125, 137, 145, 146–51, 147–9, 155, 164  
*Fourth Eclogue*, 149–50  
 in *Historia destructionis Troiae*, 91  
 humanist attitudes towards, 165  
 rewriter of *Iliad*, 45  
 Vives, Juan Luis, 172  
 Vossler, Karl, 70  
 Wace, 81  
 Waldensianism. See heresy  
 Waleys, Thomas, 111  
 Watson, Nicholas, 181  
 Weinberger, Eliot, 180  
 Weinstein, Donald, 206  
 Wertis, Sandra Karaus, 195  
 White, James Boyd, 6  
 Witt, Ronald, 8, 9, 32, 181, 220, 226  
 Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, 105, 181, 182, 184, 187  
 women  
 adornments of, 13, 16, 24–6, 24–6, 28, 29, 43  
 as audience, 4, 22, 27, 35, 84, 101, 105, 109, 113, 132, 160–4, 165  
 copyists, 27  
 language of, 34, 37, 113, 146, 157  
 literature of, 42

- women (cont.)  
 maternity of, 146–8  
 miraculous readers, 15, 119–23  
 as preachers, 106, 113  
 as pretext for vernacularization, 5, 27, 42, 162  
 rhetoric of, 28, 34–5  
 saints' lives, 101  
 vulgar nobility of, 42, 84  
 Worley, Meg, 181  
 Wright, Roger, 200
- Zaggia, Massimo, 187  
 Zampieri, Adriana, 65, 66  
 Zamponi, Stefano, 211  
 Zardin, Danilo, 206  
 Zarri, Gabriella, 206  
 Zetzel, James, 5, 69  
 Zimmerman, O. J., 211  
 Zinelli, Fabio, 208  
 Zozima, 117  
 Zumthor, Paul, 47

## CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

- 1 Robin Kirkpatrick *Dante's Inferno: Difficulty and Dead Poetry*
- 2 Jeremy Tambling *Dante and Difference: Writing in the 'Commedia'*
- 3 Simon Gaunt *Troubadours and Irony*
- 4 Wendy Scase *'Piers Plowman' and the New Anticlericalism*
- 5 Joseph Duggan *The 'Cantar De Mio Cid': Poetic Creation in its Economic and Social Contexts*
- 6 Roderick Beaton *The Medieval Greek Romance*
- 7 Kathryn Kerby-Fulton *Reformist Apocalypticism and 'Piers Plowman'*
- 8 Alison Morgan *Dante and the Medieval Other World*
- 9 Eckehard Simon (ed.) *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama*
- 10 Mary Carruthers *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*
- 11 Rita Copeland *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*
- 12 Donald Maddox *The Arthurian Romances of Chrétien de Troyes: Once and Future Fictions*
- 13 Nicholas Watson *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*
- 14 Steven F. Kruger *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*
- 15 Barbara Nolan *Chaucer and the Tradition of the 'Roman Antique'*
- 16 Sylvia Huot *The 'Romance of the Rose' and Its Medieval Readers: Interpretations, Reception, Manuscript Transmission*
- 17 Carol M. Meale (ed.) *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150–1500*
- 18 Henry Ansgar Kelly *Ideas and Forms of Tragedy from Aristotle to the Middle Ages*
- 19 Martin Irvine *The Making of Textual Culture: Grammatica and Literary Theory, 350–1100*
- 20 Larry Scanlon *Narrative, Authority and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition*
- 21 Erik Kooper *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context*
- 22 Steven Botterill *Dante and the Mystical Tradition: Bernard of Clairvaux in the 'Commedia'*

- 23 Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (eds.) *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530*
- 24 Christopher Baswell *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the 'Aeneid' from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer*
- 25 James Simpson *Sciences and Self in Medieval Poetry: Alan of Lille's 'Anticlaudianus' and John Gower's 'Confessio Amantis'*
- 26 Joyce Coleman *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*
- 27 Suzanne Reynolds *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text*
- 28 Charlotte Brewer *Editing 'Piers Plowman': The Evolution of the Text*
- 29 Walter Haug *Vernacular Literary Theory in the Middle Ages: The German Tradition in its European Context*
- 30 Sarah Spence *Texts and the Self in the Twelfth Century*
- 31 Edwin Craun *Lies, Slander and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature: Pastoral Rhetoric and the Deviant Speaker*
- 32 Patricia E. Grieve *"Floire and Blancheflor" and the European Romance*
- 33 Huw Pryce (ed.) *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*
- 34 Mary Carruthers *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*
- 35 Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance: The Verse Tradition from Chrétien to Froissart*
- 36 Siân Echard *Arthurian Narrative in the Latin Tradition*
- 37 Fiona Somerset *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*
- 38 Florence Percival *Chaucer's Legendary Good Women*
- 39 Christopher Cannon *The Making of Chaucer's English: A Study of Words*
- 40 Rosalind Brown-Grant *Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defence of Women: Reading Beyond Gender*
- 41 Richard Newhauser *The Early History of Greed: the Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature*
- 42 Margaret Clunies Ross *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*
- 43 Donald Maddox *Fictions of Identity in Medieval France*
- 44 Rita Copeland *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning*
- 45 Kantik Ghosh *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*
- 46 Mary C. Erler *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England*
- 47 D. H. Green *The Beginnings of Medieval Romance: Fact and Fiction 1150–1220*

- 48 J. A. Burrow *Gestures and Looks in Medieval Narrative*
- 49 Ardis Butterfield *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*
- 50 Emily Steiner *Documentary Culture and the Making of Medieval English Literature*
- 51 William E. Burgwinkle *Sodomy, Masculinity, and Law in Medieval Literature*
- 52 Nick Havely *Dante and the Franciscans: Poverty and the Papacy in the 'Commedia'*
- 53 Siegfried Wenzel *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England*
- 54 Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (eds.) *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*
- 55 Mark Miller *Philosophical Chaucer: Love, Sex, and Agency in the 'Canterbury Tales'*
- 56 Simon Gilson *Dante and Renaissance Florence*
- 57 Ralph Hanna *London Literature, 1300–1380*
- 58 Maura Nolan *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture*
- 59 Nicolette Zeeman *Piers Plowman and the Medieval Discourse of Desire*
- 60 Anthony Bale *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms 1350–1500*
- 61 Robert J. Meyer-Lee *Poets and Power from Chaucer to Wyatt*
- 62 Isabel Davis *Writing Masculinity in the Later Middle Ages*
- 63 John M. Fyler *Language and the Declining World in Chaucer, Dante and Jean de Meun*
- 64 Matthew Giancarlo *Parliament and Literature in Late Medieval England*
- 65 D. H. Green *Women Readers in the Middle Ages*
- 66 Mary Dove *The First English Bible: The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions*
- 67 Jenni Nuttall *The Creation of Lancastrian Kingship: Literature, Language and Politics in Late Medieval England*
- 68 Laura Ashe *Fiction and History in England, 1066–1200*
- 69 J. A. Burrow *The Poetry of Praise*
- 70 Mary Carruthers *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*
- 71 Andrew Cole *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer*
- 72 Suzanne M. Yeager *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*
- 73 Nicole R. Rice *Lay Piety and Religious Discipline in Middle English Literature*

- 74 D. H. Green *Women and Marriage in German Medieval Romance*
- 75 Peter Godman *Paradoxes of Conscience in the High Middle Ages: Abelard, Heloise and the Archpoet*
- 76 Edwin D. Craun *Ethics and Power in Medieval English Reformist Writing*
- 77 David Matthews *Writing to the King: Nation, Kingship, and Literature in England, 1250–1350*
- 78 Mary Carruthers (ed.) *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*
- 79 Katharine Breen *Imagining an English Reading Public, 1150–1400*
- 80 Antony J. Hasler *Court Poetry in Late Medieval England and Scotland: Allegories of Authority*
- 81 Shannon Gayk *Image, Text, and Religious Reform in Fifteenth-Century England*
- 82 Lisa H. Cooper *Artisans and Narrative Craft in Late-Medieval England*
- 83 Alison Cornish *Vernacular Translation in Dante's Italy: Illiterate Literature*